

FBIS

DAILY REPORT

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GENERAL DZHUROV SPEAKS AT MILITARY GRADUATION

AU021835 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Aug 81 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, at the 29 August commencement exercises of Bulgaria's Georgi Rakovski Military Academy in Shumen]

[Excerpts] Comrade officers and graduates of the Georgi Stoykov Rakovski Military Academy and the USSR Military Academies,

Comrade young officers and sergeants, graduates of the military schools,

Comrade generals, officers, sergeants and soldiers,

Respected citizens of Shumen and guests!

The festive commissioning of each graduating class of the military schools, and publishing the names of those who audited the courses and successfully completed their studies at the USSR and Bulgarian military academies, is a tradition of long standing. This is a festive manifestation of our selfless loyalty to the people and motherland, and a vivid reincarnation of the continuity manifested throughout Bulgaria's 1,300-year history.

We know that peace and socialism are indivisible, but do not forget even for a moment that we must be ready--if necessary--to defend peace and the achievements of socialism. This is so because the international situation is being exacerbated in front of our eyes.

Really, for more than 35 years the European peoples have lived in peace. This is first of all due to the great USSR and its consistent and peace-loving policy, its great power and its invincible army, as well as the armies of the Warsaw Pact fraternal member countries. We, the countries of real socialism, have only one policy and strategy--the policy and strategy of peace and peaceful coexistence. All our deeds are devoted to peaceful construction and protecting and strengthening peace among nations.

Unfortunately, in the last 2-3 years the most aggressive circles of imperialism's military-industrial complex became dominant in some capitalist countries and first of all the United States. These ardent proponents of destruction are creating new hotbeds throughout the planet. They are increasing their budgets with an unprecedented pace and are intensifying the arms race. They are constructing new types of missiles and weapons' systems, creating "space shuttles" and rapid deployment forces, huge submarine and regular fleets and air forces, and building new military bases around the socialist countries. The most recent decision of President Reagan is to commence production of the neutron weapon, the nuclear arsenal, which is huge anyway, will be supplemented with a new and especially barbarous means of mass extermination of people. Simultaneously, the imperialist centers are applying wild ideological pressure, a real psychological war which is a total one, conducted on all fronts, and aimed against our socialist system.

Therefore, we have to actively oppose their propaganda machine and be ready--if necessary--to put a cork in their guns' muzzles.

We are adding our indignant voice to the stormy protest of the world public against the recent decisions of the U.S. administration, and condemn its pirate-like attacks against Libya, Cuba, Angola and everywhere else throughout the world.

We know! One must fight for peace and not pray!

Bulgaria is a relatively small country. However, it is situated in a vitally important crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. It is because of this that Bulgaria's constructive foreign policy has such an important role in the Balkans. From a hotbed of quarrels, today the Balkan Peninsula has become a relatively calm area of peace in which the chilling blow of the cold war is only barely felt.

This is so because of the consistent, principled and peace-loving policy of our country. This is not an opportunistic policy. It is a sincere, lasting and constructive policy. At the 12th BCP Congress our party made new proposals for further strengthening good-neighborly relations in the Balkans. The BCP Central Committee report read: "...We are ready to sign bilateral agreements with the neighboring countries which will include a code of goodneighborly relations, renouncing any territorial claims and disallowing the use of the territories of the parties to the agreements for hostile goals...." The proposal on creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, made at the recent meeting in the Crimea between Comrades Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov, is a new and bright proof of our country's constant striving to strengthen the political climate in the Balkan Peninsula.

It is obvious that instead of suspicion and fear of war, we chose confidence and calm. However, this calm should not turn into tranquillity. For us, peaceful calm means vigilance and work! Work and vigilance! Peace can be saved only by vigilant and strong hands!

TANCHEV RECEIVES EEC PEASANT UNION DELEGATION

AU031004 Sofia BTA in English 0815 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr Petur Tanchev, first deputy-chairman of the State Council received a delegation of the Peasant Union Cooperation of the EEC countries, led by Union's chairman Mr (Konstantin Herman), chairman of the Agrarian Union of the FRG. The delegation is on a visit to our country at the invitation of the Standing Commission of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union. Mr (Donal Kashman) of Ireland, deputy-chairman of the Union and Mr (Andreas Erlizka) of Belgium, the Union's secretary general are members of the delegation.

Mr Petur Tanchev made the guests familiar with the successes Bulgaria has achieved in building the developed socialist society.

During the talks the common wish for promoting the ties between the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Peasant Union Cooperation of the EEC countries was reaffirmed.

Prominence was given to the policy of detente, of the constructive dialogue in the name of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and in the world.

BRIEFS

LILOV IN ZLATOGRA--A new cultural center and a monument devoted to the old Bulgarian revolutionary Velyu Voyvoda were opened in Zlatograd today. Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended the celebration and declared the cultural center open. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 81 AU]

JAPANESE DELEGATION MEETS TANCHEV--Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union (BAU) and first vice-president of the State Council, received here today the delegation of the All-Japan Federation of Peasant Unions, visiting here at the invitation of the BAU Standing Committee. The delegation is led by Mr (Sgogo Abe), member of the Executive Buro of the Federation and deputy at the Diet. It was underlined at the meeting that the BAU and the All-Japan Federation of Peasant Unions declare themselves firmly in support of the policy of detente, against the adventurist decision of the USA to produce the particularly barbarous neutron bomb. Confidence was expressed that the peoples will not permit the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to be repeated. [Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 28 Aug 81 AU]

SOLIDARITY DENOUNCED FOR POLISH SITUATION

AU031242 Prague PRACE in Czech 2 Sep 81 p 2

["MS"-signed commentary: "Bitter Fruit"]

[Text] The Polish press recently published a detailed report on the adjustment of retail prices of some foodstuffs. The price increase is substantial, but unavoidable. It is one of the consequences of days and weeks spent on strike, of loose work discipline, of disorganization and speculation. It is a consequence of that which was spawned, organized and instigated by Solidarity.

Some time ago a Polish newspaper quite seriously dealt in its supplement with the question of how many snails had been exported, what the revenue had been in terms of dollars and whether it would not have been better to consume them at home. Another paper published an article dealing with the convertibility of the Polish zloty. Still another paper called for entrusting experts with running society. The so-called Rural Solidarity used to promise that once it was registered, the city markets would be flooded with foodstuffs. What the actual situation looks like is verified by the reports appearing daily on the front pages of the newspapers, inserted--because of their urgency--among reports on the most important domestic and international events.

Speculation, Theft and Waste--writes TRYBUNA LUDU. The Black Market Under the Microscope--reads the headline of another article. Some Z500 are now being asked for a kilogram of pork and Z250 for a kilogram of lard. The current price of a 0.5-liter bottle of vodka amounts to Z600-700. Vodka, like cigarettes, is the subject of large-scale speculation. At a time when there is a shortage of basic foodstuffs, some 100 tons of potatoes were left to rot in Zielona Gora. An employee of the retail trade department of the voivodship office in Suwalki was selling counterfeit meat ration coupons, asking Z1,500 for each. An enterprising person from Jablonka bought 85 stable forks at Z48 and sold them at Z150 each, a truly peculiar contribution to the fashionable slogan "green light to agriculture." The manager and an instructor at a summer camp in Dolna Losonina wanted to profit from children. They amassed 60 bottles of alcohol (in a facility for children!), 850 packs of cigarettes (!), 20 kg of cocoa, 11 kg of butter, 10 kg of chocolate and other merchandise. How humble and almost defensive, in view of this reality, sounds the assurance of school directors that there will be lunches in the school cafeterias, after all...

The list of economic offenses and similar stumbling-blocks standing in the way of a solution to Poland's present fundamental problems would be enormously long. The anxiety is very concrete; with the approaching fall, it is gaining in intensity and deafening the hysterical clamor and calls for new strikes and the recall of directors from their posts, calls that are simply designed to divert attention from one big question: What has the year of Solidarity's activity in fact, given to the working people in Poland?

The question is urgent and the time is rapidly approaching when it will be uttered by hundreds of deceived and confused people.

Upcoming Solidarity Congress

LD031910 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Excerpt] The current complex socio-economic situation in the country was also discussed at the Third PZPR Plenum.

The necessity to face the growing activity of extremist forces, and the instigation of strikes and conflicts was emphasized. In connection with the recent "days without the press," organized by NSZZ Solidarity, it was pointed out that there were tendencies forcefully to demand access to the mass media and to deprive the party of influence over the mass media.

The realism of the conclusions arrived at by the plenum was convincingly illustrated by the events of the last few days during which NSZZ Solidarity leaders, including Lech Walesa, said on several occasions that all shortcomings in the country had been caused by the government and that NSZZ Solidarity would solve everything quite easily.

Also well-known are NSZZ Solidarity's proposals for self-management which amount to the liquidation of the influence of the party and government not only in the economy but also in all other spheres of social and political life. There also exist ever more frequent cases of hateful attacks on the party and government and appeals for a takeover of power by NSZZ Solidarity. Everything seems to indicate that the forthcoming NSZZ Solidarity Congress in Gdansk is to be an occasion for its leaders to proclaim themselves as the saviours of Poland. The development of events thus confirms the well-known fact that the founders of NSZZ Solidarity and their godfathers in the West have from the very beginning endeavoured to set up an opposition political organization uniting--behind the backs of the working people--all counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces in Poland.

Aims to Bring Down Society

LD031804 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Who votes for confrontation in Poland? That's the topic of this comment by Radio Prague's Stefan Babiak:

Confrontation is becoming a household name in Poland, he writes. Suffice it to recall this week's televised debate with the leaders of the independent trade union Solidarity. Lech Walesa, for example, maintained that what he calls successes scored by his union over the past year are a direct result of applying the method of confrontation. Another leading Solidarity official, Zbigniew Bujak, for his part, made himself heard that allegedly the Poles are convinced that confrontation is inevitable. However, these and similar claims appear to an outsider as nothing but wishful thinking. Solidarity's record over the 12 or so months of its existence clearly indicates that the only force in Poland really striving for confrontation is Solidarity, as documented by a statement by the very same Mr Bujak at the Hybrydy discussion club, that it would only help the cause of the union, that is the extremist forces within Solidarity, if it sought a showdown with the police.

An in-depth look into the Polish developments reveals that Mr Bujak's words signify much more than just a platonic [as heard] confession of a sworn enemy of socialism. They rather outline a well-devised program of a relatively strong group within the union's leadership, one which considers strikes as the basic tool with which to push through its schemes despite Poland's disastrous economic situation, irrespective of the fact that the goals to be thus achieved have little in common with the interests and requirements of the Polish working people.

The driving force behind these unrealistic demands is the effort to bring Polish society on the verge of collapse and to seize power. Not even the most sophisticated propagandist [words indistinct] can conceal that precisely its kind of Solidarity policy is the main cause of Poland's deep crisis which has penetrated all strata of that country's society. The only remedy is to halt the catastrophic slump of production and to fight anarchy. As stated at the recent third session of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Solidarity's goal is to drive a wedge between the party and the people, thus effectively blocking the much needed social agreement between the working class and society as a whole.

With the upcoming first national congress of Solidarity, the forces of destruction within the union are clearly gaining the upper hand to the point of driving the government into an agreement that would give Solidarity full control over the country's mass media. There you are, then, confrontation in full swing. Now it is up to the sound and realistic forces in Poland to defend their country's interests and its alliance with the other socialist states for the sake of a better crisis-free future.

CZECHOSLOVAK DISSIDENT REPORTEDLY ARRESTED 1 SEP

NC031924 Paris AFP in English 1850 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Prague, 3 Sep (AFP)--Ladislav Lis, a founder member of the Defence Committee for People Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS) and signatory of the Charter 77 human rights group, was arrested here on Tuesday, dissident sources said today.

Mr Lis is a former leader of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party from which he was excluded in 1969 because of his role in the liberalising events of 1968.

He was at that time secretary of the Prague party committee and was the chief organiser of the clandestine Vyskov congress held on August 22, 1968.

Mr Lis has been questioned several times in the past along with other founder members of VONS.

HUSAK APPOINTS NEW MISSION HEAD TO UNITED NATIONS

AU021005 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] Prague, 31 Aug (CTK)--CSSR President Gustav Husak has appointed Stanislav Suja ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and head of the CSSR's permanent mission to the United Nations in New York. At the same time he decided to recall Ilja Hulinsky from this function in connection with entrusting him with other tasks.

Strougal Receives Suja

LD030350 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received in Prague today Stanislav Suja, who has been appointed ambassador of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations organization.

Husak Receives Sjuja

LD031615 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received in Prague today Stanislav Suja, newly appointed Czechoslovak envoy to the United Nations. Stanislav Suja has left to take up his diplomatic office.

TALKS HELD, CONTRACT SIGNED WITH ALBANIAN FIRM

AU021656 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 1 Sep 81 p 7

["CP"-signed report: "Contract Signed"]

[Text] Prague--Representatives of the ZSE [high-voltage electrical engineering plants] Prague trust discussed with the Albanian Makinaimport firm deliveries of Czechoslovak air-break contactors and signed a contract for 1981. At the same time they agreed on deliveries of electric motors, electric installation material, furnaces and welding machines. They also discussed deliveries of high-voltage fittings and cables with representatives of the Albimpeks firm.

WCC OFFICIAL MEETS STATE CHURCH OFFICIAL

AU031431 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)--P. Potter, secretary general of the World Council of Churches [WCC], who has been in our country for a brief visit to the Czechoslovak WCC Member Churches, was received in Prague yesterday by K. Hruza, head of the Secretariat for Church Matters attached to the office of the CSSR Government Presidium. During the talk P. Potter stressed that one of the churches' main tasks in the current deteriorated international atmosphere is to strive for building up trust between peoples and states, with the aim of solving all controversial questions in a peaceful way and through negotiations. The WCC secretary general called the local conflicts and wars--the consequences of which make the innocent suffer most, above all in the developing countries--one of the serious problems of today.

FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVES AUSTRIAN ENVOY

LD031925 Prague CTK in English 1710 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Prague 3 Sep (CETKA)--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received here today Austrian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Heinz Weinberger.

They discussed some topical aspects of bilateral relations and the present international situation.

LEADERS GREET SRV COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU031430 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 81 pp 1,2

[Text] Prague, 1 Sep (CTK)--Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, sent Le Duan, Central Committee secretary general of the Communist Party of Vietnam; Truong Chinh, SRV State Council chairman, and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the national holiday of the SRV:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the national holiday of the SRV -- the 36th anniversary of independence--we are sending you, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the government and the fraternal Vietnamese people ardent comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the government and all Czechoslovak people, as well as in our own name.

The working people of the CSSR hold in deep respect the results achieved by the fraternal Vietnamese people, led by the Communist party of Vietnam and in cooperation with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other countries of the socialist community, in the defense of their country's independence against the attacks of the imperialism, hegemonism and the world reaction and also on the path of building the socialist society in their united fatherland. We appreciate the Vietnamese people's efforts to realize the conclusions of the fourth party congress, which set the program of building the socialist society in the entire country.

We respect the peaceful foreign policy of the SRV and its contribution to consolidating the unity of the countries of the socialist community, in the common struggle of progressive and peace-loving forces for lasting peace, international detente and the peoples' security. The firm ties of friendship and solidarity between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea is a significant factor of peace, progress and cooperation in the area of southeast Asia against the attacks of imperialism, Chinese hegemonism, expansionism and the international reaction.

We sincerely congratulate you on the results of the Vietnamese people's work, which convincingly confirm that the path embarked upon by Vietnam after the victory of the August revolution 36 years ago is the right path.

We are glad to state that the fraternal relations and the close comradely cooperation between the CPCZ and the Communist Party of Vietnam, and between our two countries, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are developing successfully. The treaty on friendship and cooperation of 1980 has laid new foundations for a further dynamic growth of mutual relations in all spheres of political, economic relations and the fraternal cooperation between our parties and countries will continue to successfully deepen for the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Vietnamese people, in the interests of peace and progress in the world.

We wish you, dear comrades, as well as all Vietnamese people, from the bottom of our hearts many new successes in fulfilling the exacting tasks of building the socialist society in your country and in the defense of its freedom and independence.

PRESIDENT HUSAK CONGRATULATES LIBYA ON HOLIDAY

AU021658 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] Prague, 31 Aug (CTK)--CSSR President Gustav Husak sent a congratulatory telegram to Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution on the occasion of the state holiday of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

On the same occasion CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal sent a congratulatory telegram to Maj 'Abd as-Salam Jallud, member of the Revolutionary Command Council of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

Likewise, Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, congratulated 'Abd al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi, secretary of the Bureau for Foreign Contacts of the General People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

CPCZ GREETINGS TO BELGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

LD040416 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee has sent a letter of greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium on the 60th anniversary of its foundation. The letter praises above all the contribution made by the Communist Party of Belgium in the struggle of the progressive and democratic forces of the world for stopping the arms race, for disarmament, for the implementation of the policy of mutual understanding in interstate relations and for peace and security in Europe.

PETER COLOTKA VISITS DOLNY KUBIN DISTRICT

LD030342 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Text] Peter Colotka, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and Slovak premier, arrived on a working visit to Dolny Kubin District today.

In the morning he visited the Tesla-Orava enterprise in Nizna, where he acquainted himself with the implementation of production tasks and saw the production line of the latest color television sets. At the end of the visit, Comrade Colotka and other guests met the leading workers of the enterprise.

HONECKER MESSAGE TO SPECIAL UN SESSION ON NAMIBIA

LD031815 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Sep (ADN)--On the occasion of the special meeting of the UN General Assembly on Namibia, Erich Honecker secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent a message to the president of the meeting, Ruediger Von Wechmar, wishing the session every success.

The meeting concerns the liberation of a people, the message says, from whom independence has been denied as a result of the unlawful occupation of their territory.

The message goes on: "Like the majority of the members of the community of nations, the GDR takes the view that the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council is a most urgent requirement. The people of Namibia must no longer be denied their independence and right of self-determination. The decisions of the United Nations point to this conclusion. An immediate stop must be put to the policy of terror, aggression and apartheid."

The GDR has consistently supported the perilous struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO [South West African People's organization], their sole legitimate representative, and will continue to do so in future, the message affirms.

In conclusion, Erich Honecker expresses the GDR's expectation "that this special meeting will emphatically affirm and actively support the right of the people of Namibia to independence, self-determination and territorial integrity."

KROLIKOWSKI RECEIVES ANGOLAN LABOR MINISTER

AU021650 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Sep 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--On 31 August Werner Krolkowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received for a friendly talk Noe de Silva Saude, minister of labor and social security of the People's Republic of Angola. "Referring to the aggression of the South African racist regime against the People's Republic of Angola, Werner Krolkowski declared that the GDR, which is linked with the People's Republic of Angola by the treaty of friendship and cooperation, most resolutely condemns this brutal military attack." The Angolan minister thanked the GDR for the firm solidarity with the Angolan people and reported on the efforts of the Angolan people in implementing the decisions of the First Extraordinary Congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Labor Party.

WILLI STOPH CONGRATULATES IRAN'S MAHDAVI-KANI

LD040410 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1632 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Sep (ADN)--The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, has sent a telegram to Ayatollah Mohammad Reza Mahdavi-Kani congratulating him on his appointment as prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The telegram expresses the confidence that relations between the two states will continue to develop successfully on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, in peace and security.

AIRSPACE VIOLATION BY FRG PLANE PROTESTED

AU031325 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 28 August a single-engined plane, coming from the FRG, violated GDR airspace in Worbis Kreis, continued its flight provocatively, and left GDR airspace near Wuhlhausen.

It is only due to the circumspect action of the forces responsible for the protection of the GDR airspace that this airspace violation did not have serious consequences. The permanent mission of the GDR in the FRG resolutely filed a protest with the FRG Chancellory against this violation of GDR airspace, which is against international law, and expressed the expectation that the responsible organs of the FRG would take steps to prevent violations of GDR airspace in the future.

LEADERS GREET SRV COUNTERPARTS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU031800 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Sep 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers Chairman; and Horst Sindermann, GDR People's Chamber chairman, have sent the following telegram to Le Duan, Vietnam Communist Party general secretary; Truong Chinh, SRV State Council chairman; Nguyen Huu Tho, National Assembly chairman; and Pham Van Dong, Council of Ministers chairman:

Esteemed comrades, on the 36th anniversary of the founding of the SRV we convey to you, the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee, and the SRV State Council, National Assembly and government, and the fraternal SRV people, cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, Council of Ministers, People's Chamber and the GDR people, as well as on our own behalf.

In its long, glorious struggle the Vietnamese people, led by the battle-steelled Vietnam Communist Party, has liquidated the rule of colonialism and feudalism, inflicted defeat on imperialist aggression, and scored fundamental successes in building the socialist society. Implementing the decisions of the Fourth Congress and preparing for the Fifth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party, the Vietnamese people are accomplishing great achievements in continuing socialist transformation and establishing the material-technical foundations of socialism. The SRV is making a substantial contribution toward strengthening the community of socialist countries, developing cooperation with the nationally liberated states, in the interest of peace and detente, and in the struggle against the imperialist and hegemonic policy of confrontation. The GDR supports the constructive proposals of the socialist states of Indochina for establishing a zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

With great pleasure we are able to note that the relations of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between our two parties, states and peoples are continuously developing on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in compliance with the treaty on friendship and collaboration. Rest assured, esteemed comrades, that the GDR will continue to make every effort to further strengthen these fraternal relations and to bring cooperation in all fields still closer. From the bottom of our hearts, we wish the fraternal Vietnamese people new successes in building socialism.

CIVIL DEFENSE DELEGATION ENDS VISIT IN MONGOLIA

AU021634 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Ulaanbaatar (ADN)--A delegation of the GDR Civil Defense, headed by its chief, Lt Gen Fritz Peter, ended a visit of several days in the Mongolian People's Republic on Monday. The delegation honored an invitation of the Mongolian minister of defense and was received during its visit by Tumenbayaryn Ragchaa, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Jarantayn Abhia, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo member and defense minister.

ECONOMIST JOZSEF BOGNAR VIEWS POLISH CRISIS

PM031520 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 29 Aug 81 p 11

[Anna Sandor interview with Budapest Institute of World Economics Director Jozsef Bognar: "Balance Is Necessary for Reform in Poland"—date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] If the Polish Government were to ask you for advice, what would you say?

[Answer] Point one: Without balance no reforms are possible. For every reform must be able to rest on a material surplus in industrial capacity, semi-manufactured articles, raw materials and products and this is precisely what Poland does not have at the moment. Clearly everyone in Poland agrees on the necessity of a large price rise as the most important means to the restoration of balance. A drastic price increase would probably have to be compensated for, in different ways for different sections of society.

But I know Eastern European practice--almost everyone would succeed in being included in the category in which compensation is highest. Thus the Polish Government would not gain much through price increases. As a result of this it would then try further price increases, after which new compensations would follow, and so on. I have the feeling that these two factors give impetus to inflation and do not work in the direction of stabilization.

I wonder if it is not better to carry out a monetary reform through a drastic devaluation or the issue of new money instead of introducing price rises. I remember the 1956 stabilization in Hungary which we were able to carry out with great success. Then we had one of the highest inflation rates in world history and the shortage of goods was tremendous. By creating new money, the forint, we succeeded in stabilizing the chaotic economy. The stabilization process would take much longer in Poland than in Hungary.

[Question] Is there therefore no room for reforms in Poland throughout the time that this stabilization would be taking place?

[Answer] Radical reforms could only be implemented after stabilization, but that does not mean to say that meanwhile everything must remain in its old form. Take the problem of decentralization which is of crucial importance for Poland. In the first phase, this would, however, bring with it many problems. Through decentralization it is possible that much more would be produced in one sector of the economy than in another, and there is no guarantee that the increase in production would take place in the sector where the need was greatest.

[Question] How great are the differences between the Hungarian reforms of 1968 which are generally viewed as a successful and the present Polish reform plans?

[Answer] They are enormous. The reason for the Hungarian reforms was economic. We "only" wanted to bring about a more productive economy. Given the close interweaving between economy, politics and society, we knew well that a reform of the economy would have repercussions in the other two fields. But our view then was that the political and social changes which would be caused by our economic reform were of subsidiary importance. These reasons for the Polish reforms are political in nature, and have been brought about by the economic crisis. In a forced situation room to maneuver is always less--your hands are tied and you are in a hurry.

In one sense Poland has more room to maneuver than we did in the latter half of the sixties, when we had worked out the principles for our reforms. In the last 15 years the situation in Eastern Europe has changed, especially in the attitudes of the various countries in domestic policy and the reciprocal relationship between the Comecon nations. Eastern Europe is going through different stages of development, and ways of thinking in this part of the world have changed. In concrete terms I am thinking of the fact that in 1981 it is possible to go much further in the political and political-economical field than 15 years ago, provided that the international situation in Poland makes this possible.

In Eastern Europe no one would nowadays have a heart attack because the Poles are creating workers' committees, for example. If the Poles are able to do this, and if this is a good thing for the Polish economy and Polish politics -- well, the Poles will know this themselves. In this sense the Poles now have greater freedom of movement. There is now, for example, talk of Polish membership of the IMF, a suggestion which could not be discussed in Eastern Europe at the time of the Hungarian reforms. At that time Romania too was not a member.

Fifteen years ago Hungary had almost no foreign debts. Thus, instability with regards to the rest of the world played no part in our reforms. Poland has great debts to the West-- one of the weightiest reasons for reforms. Poland must now export to the West at almost all costs; in Hungary in 1968 this was not an imperative for us.

Because of these debts Poland's freedom with regard to the Western world is now much less than ours was then. This has both its advantages and disadvantages. One disadvantage is that Poland can no longer freely choose its form of cooperation with the West, because it now needs the West's agreement. Fifteen years ago we were able to decide ourselves in which way we would cooperate with the West.

[Question] In some respects the Polish reforms go further than those in Hungary in the field of workers' committees, limited companies, the introduction of official unemployment, and so on. In what way would these questions be able to influence Hungarian reforms, Hungarian society?

[Answer] Because the Polish reforms have arisen out of a political crisis, workers' committees and similar organizations must in my opinion be created. In Hungary, 15 years ago, this was not an important question, because central power, that is, Kadar, was operating from a consolidated position. In 1966-67 the Kadar regime enjoyed great confidence, because Kadar had succeeded in stabilizing the bad situation after 1956. And when Kadar was both prepared and able to implement reforms, the confidence the people had in the regime grew even greater.

I do not think that the economic reforms in Poland will have any influence on the Hungarian economy, rather on political life. The possible results of the Polish reforms will only become apparent over a number of years, after some sort of stable situation has established itself. It is clear that the standard of living in the coming years will remain as low as it is now. For this reason the Polish reforms will have no power of attraction over Hungary. But it is probably to be expected that the Polish example will lead to more elbow room for the trade union movement and the parliament and that there will be changes in the relationship between party and government as far as spheres of influence and so on are concerned.

I do not think that unemployment can be introduced in Poland, and East European society could never tolerate that. Our societies are differently structured.

The Western economies are based on free competition. If someone in society takes a wrong turning as a result of free competition -- well, that is obvious, because that is the price of free enterprise, free competition. From the very emergence of the capitalist system unemployment was always a normal thing for these societies apart from in the sixties. Thus unemployment is a normal phenomenon in the Western economies, organically integrated into the societies. For us in Eastern Europe it would be something new, and it would neither fit in with our ideology nor with the structure of our economy.

[Question] How would essential economic changes in Poland affect Comecon affairs?

[Answer] The influence already exists. After the Soviet Union, Poland is the largest country in Comecon. Eastern Europe's energy supplies are not only dependent on Russian oil and natural gas but also on Polish coal. Because of the serious problems with Poland's coal production Comecon is forced to buy this energy elsewhere, outside Comecon, and this means heavy burdens in hard currency.

There are also within Comecon many branches of industry based on cooperation with Polish firms. Because the Polish firms are now producing less -- and this will continue to be the case in the next few years -- a solution must be found to this and it is feared that this solution cannot be found within Comecon.

Another effect of the events in Poland is to be expected in connection with Comecon's cooperation mechanism. Presumably there will now be greater traffic in credit and manpower between the Comecon countries. Up to now, this traffic was only a marginal phenomenon. Poland now needs to borrow more, and does not know what to do with its manpower surplus, while other Comecon countries have a shortage of manpower.

Because of the somber situation -- namely, the shortage of products within Comecon -- perhaps new mechanisms for cooperation will be invented.

These would then create greater interest within the Comecon nations in supplying one's country's own products to other Comecon countries and not to the West. Thus we must expect a great stimulus for activities and new methods within Comecon -- and this can only make Eastern European integration more healthy.

THEFTS IN POLISH MINING OFFICES REPORTED

LD041052 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Unknown persons broke into the office building of the "Thorez" mine in Poland. The offices of the PZPR, the Union of Socialist Youth and the Industrial Branch Trade Union of Miners were broken into and furniture was wrecked. Several passbooks allowing access to the plant were stolen, documents kept in the desks were scattered all over and an attempt was made to force open the safe in which party documents were kept. The Polish police started an investigation into the case.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ADOPTS PLANNING REPORTS

LD040712 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 3 Sep (MTI)--At its Thursday session, the Hungarian Council of Ministers discussed and adopted the report of the National Planning Office on the 1981 Course of National Economic Development, together with the finance minister's report. It was found that the 1981 plan has to be met amid increasingly difficult circumstances. Further measures are needed to enhance the companies' adaptability to changing market conditions, to step up modernization of the production pattern and to improve efficiency and the economic equilibrium. The government reviewed the preparations for the 1982 national economic plan and state budget, and marked out tasks lying ahead for the planning sphere.

BRIEFS

INTEGRATED COMPUTER SYSTEM--Trial operation of an integrated computer control system, the first in the country is to begin soon at the Machine Tool Factory of the Csepel Iron and Metal Works. The program for 36 sorts of machining of 8 important types of components or parts has been prepared in collaboration with the Computer Technology Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In the coming weeks machines and technological units will be gradually linked to the integrated production system. By October, it is expected that 5 machining centers of the machine tool factory, an elevated supply area for distributing material, parts and tools as well as its industrial robot and entire metering equipment will produce wholly automatically under computer control. The factory plans to run the trial operation on at least two shifts, but possibly three. Thus the complete integrated production system will perform the work of a total of 32 traditional machining machine tools. The system will be operated by three persons per shift. The personnel of Csepel are putting the computer-controlled system into operation at virtually the same time at the Machine Tool Industry Works, the United Electric Machine Factory as well as at some research-development institutes. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Aug 81 p 4 AU]

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON THIRD PZPR PLENUM 2-3 SEP

More on 2 Sep Session

LD031104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Discussion began at the Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Zbigniew Abramowicz, member of the Central Committee and foreman from the hard coal mine in Zabrze, said among other things: Using the example of the Zabrze work enterprise (?I present) the situation of workers' self-government, which can certainly represent the basis for drawing more general conclusions. The most numerous group is that of work enterprises awaiting the introduction in reality of the bill on self-government. There the activity of the party organizations in the direction of creating self-government is hardly perceived. The second group is that of work enterprises where preparations were made for the elections of self-government and working out regulations. The third group is made up of work enterprises in which newly-erected self-governments are already active and where the party organizations actively participated in their creation. In the first two groups of work enterprises there exists or may exist a political struggle over the shape of workers' self-government. One can see initiatives by NSZZ Solidarity for the self-governments to be created on the basis of a program of networks. That is also why I consider that the most urgent task of party organizations ought to be the creation of an atmosphere and of conditions for carrying out democratic elections from below in the work enterprises, for party organizations cannot permit self-government to be created by Solidarity alone.

In the coke-chemical combine in Zabrze it was decided at a meeting of secretaries of the sections of party organizations of representatives of both trade unions and of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], that the role of the election commissions of self-government will be fulfilled by so-called councils of elders, made up of workers with the longest work experience in the work enterprise. These councils were granted powers consisting of the fact that they will be able to omit from electoral lists the names of persons who, in their opinion, do not meet the appropriate requirements. The councils of elders also made use of these powers, and this aroused no reservations in the workforce. That is also why, in my opinion, candidates to self-government ought to be workers who have worked a blameless 5 years in a given enterprise, or who have suitable professional qualifications. The elections carried out in one of the work enterprises of the combine permit one to state that the workforce was not directed by political and union motives when it voted, but that it elected people of authentic authority.

The next speaker was Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZSMP Central Board. He said, among other things: The totality of matters connected with preparations for the reform of the national economy, of a new structure for enterprises and workers' self-government, met with very great interest in the milieu of young workers. I realize that the conception of a new bill on workers' self-government is based on the principle of democracy. The will of the majority ought to be decisive, but when all is said and done the theoreticians of democracy pointed out long ago that democracy is not just the rule of the majority, but also the protection of rights of the minority. In many workers' collectives young people represent 30 to 40 percent. By the usual rules of electoral struggle they often lose. One of the comrades indicated in the discussion how the opportunities for influence by youth organizations were weakened in recent months. It seems that if we do not (?raise) this issue decisively, if we do not try to find a formula which will also record the place of youth organizations in the structure of workers' self-government--not just in the structure of its workers' councils that we may encounter, in which the matters of young people will in practice not be pointed out--it will rankle and lead to further crisis situations.

The next speaker was Ignacy Drabik, member of the Central Committee and senior foreman in the metal works PREDOM-METKO in Skarzysko-Kamienna in Kielce Voivodship. He said, among other things, that it is claimed in the directions of economic reform that the self-government of an enterprise is based on the participation of the workforce in the management.

The declaration of the network of works organizations of NSZZ Solidarity in the leading works enterprises did not undermine this thesis. But on what basis, and by what right is it stated in the first point of this declaration, that the government draft bills do not meet the needs and expectations of workforces and of society, since Solidarity has not even carried out discussion with the workforces on this subject, and delegates of the network were not chosen by workforces, but only by Solidarity? In the struggle over the shape of workers' self-government and of enterprises, social moods are manipulated. In actuality it is a matter of cadre policy and of depriving the party of influence over it. Solidarity pays particular attention to the appointment and naming of directors of enterprises by self-government. Yet after all, every ruling party, regardless of the system, has the decisive voice in cadre policy. That is why the conceptions proposed by the network in this area are unacceptable. It is impermissible for the party to agree to such decisions. However, in the policy of cadre promotion one has to consider their qualifications, their professional and expert experience above all. Merely belonging to party or union organizations cannot be the basis for promotion.

Next in turn, Janusz Buiko, candidate member of the Central Committee and deputy director of the eastern district directorate of state railroads in Lublin, spoke. Experiences so far in the area of implementation of the principle of participation of workforces in the running of state enterprises cannot arouse confidence in the actions which were undertaken with this object. The events of June 1976, the speaker said, had no small influence on the alteration of Article 13 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and on the registration within it of the organizational principle of the participation of workforces in the management of state enterprises. Unfortunately, that very important principle in the system did not find implementation in a statutory way.

I propose that it be clearly defined in the bill on the self-government of workforces in state enterprises that the workforce manages the matters of the enterprise in the area, and on the basis, anticipated in the bill. I then propose that it be established in the bill on enterprises that the director of a state enterprise directs the ongoing affairs of the enterprise in accordance with the resolutions of the workforce's council, and represents it (to those) outside. In such a legal regulation, the director would also have to represent the interests of the state. At the same time, the adoption of the principle of the appointment of the director by means of competition would be advisable. The principles mentioned above cannot be applied to all enterprises, and the exceptions are mentioned in the bill. One cannot imagine the economic reform without the active participation in its implementation of workforces. That is also why sensible and realistic work on behalf of a rapid legal settlement of the self-government of workforces ought to yield the desired political and economic effect. The party organizations at all levels immediately ought to undertake energetic actions, initial and inspirational ones, on behalf of a broad-based introduction of economic reform. The passing by the SEJM of a bill on state enterprises and on self-government is the basic, necessary and urgent condition of the introduction of economic reform into actuality. Let us not be afraid of any innovation here, stated the speaker.

Discussion Continues

LD031232 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Excerpts] The Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum today held its first session. It was devoted to the party's tasks in shaping the position of the self-governments of workforces of socialist enterprises in the conditions of economic reform. Aleksander Kusnierz, Central Committee member, speaking of the functioning of future self-governments, pointed out the need to synchronize tasks, responsibility and rights. Edward Skrzypczak, first secretary of the Poznan Voivodship Party Committee, stressed that maximum work is essential on adopting economic reform and the understanding of it by the workforce. Another task is making it apparent for the community that economic reform does not represent a panacea for solving our difficulties immediately.

Army Gen Zbigniew Nowak, candidate member of the Central Committee and deputy minister of national defense, said that it is necessary to become aware of the threat to the process of renewal which arises out of the destructive activity of certain Solidarity circles. Franciszek Kardynal, Central Committee member, speaking of the differences of opinion on the question of means of appointing a director, stated that this is connected with the fact that on many occasions in the past the manager of enterprises was not always accepted by the workers. He added that working people will not entrust the management of their enterprise to people who are not competent and who do not possess suitable qualifications. Stanislaw Brewinska, member of the Presidium of the Central Auditing Commission, stated that it is necessary to explain to workers what hopes and expectations they can expect from self-government. Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, stressed that the question of self-government is of fundamental significance for the political system. Self-government represents a chance for an authentic participation of the working class and all working people in management. He added that relations between the trade unions and the government in works enterprises ought to be shaped on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation.

Jozef Tyszkiewicz, candidate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the works committee in the mining enterprise in Polkowice, drew attention to the need for greater credibility in the mass media and also spoke of the necessity of closer contacts between party activists and working people.

Wladyslaw Baka, government plenipotentiary for economic reform reported to the Central Committee about the most important matters connected with preparation and implementation of the economic reform, pointing out that many legal acts were worked out concerning this important issue. Next Edmund Baczkiewicz, Central Committee member, spoke about the role of party organizations at work enterprises in preparation for the reform and the actions of employees aimed at achieving self-government.

Next to speak was Leslaw Tokarski, head of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the party Central Committee, who spoke about the political struggle for the mass media which are the fundamental instruments of the functioning of authorities.

Barbara Rogala, Central Committee candidate member, spoke in favor of appointing directors of enterprises by the workers' councils through competitions [droga konkursu]. Marian Arendt, Central Committee member, stated that the workforces want self-government to manage the matter of enterprises and not just to participate in the management. Franciszek Banko, Central Committee member, sharply criticized the actions of extremist forces of Solidarity.

3 Sep Session

LD031550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Excerpts] The debate at the Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum continues. Jerzy Nastalczyk, Central Committee member and machine setter in the Zeltor textile industry works of Zgierz in Lodz voivodship, spoke about the need to set up workers' self-governments which would enjoy full confidence of the workforces. The desire of the working people in Poland is the speediest possible extrication from the sociopolitical crisis, stressed Witold Lasisz, Central Committee member, and private farmer in the village of Grzybow, Tarnow Voivodship. Poland can develop a reliance on the might of our socialist state and the might of the workers' self-government, he said.

Report on Closing Session

LD032104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Report on closing session of the Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw 3 September]

[Text] As we have already reported, the Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum ended its deliberations at 1600 in Warsaw.

Resolutions were adopted concerning the tasks of the party in the shaping of the status of workforces' self-government in socialist enterprises under the present economic reform, and also concerning the elucidation of the circumstances of social conflicts in the history of Poland. The plenum endorsed the composition of the Central Committee's new commission. The mining Commission.

The discussions continued during the morning. Twenty-one speakers took the floor during the debates. Here, in brief, are the most important subjects touched upon by the participants in today's discussion which was dominated both by the problems of self-government and economic reform and the current situation in the country.

The first to speak was Teodor Subolek, Central Committee member and miner in the hard coal mine Manifest Lipcowy in Jastrzebie, Katowice Voivodship. Referring to the fact that a tense socio-political situation is still continuing in Jastrzebie, he stressed the need to intensify aggressiveness in party activities. The speaker stated that in connection with the actions of extremist forces of NSZZ Solidarity, which have lately been slandering and accusing the party again, it is necessary to protect the achievements of the Ninth PZPR Congress even more effectively and to consistently implement its decision. Prompt and energetic party activities are necessary. Initiative is needed. Efforts aimed at achieving the proper results in mining are not fruitful enough.

The next participant in the discussion, Prof Tomasz Afeltowicz, member of the Central Auditing Commission and chairman of the Polish Economic Society, concentrated his remarks on problems linked with the preparation and implementation of economic reform. The mandatory and allocative system of management up to this time has become one of the main causes of the collapse. This is why we attach so much importance now to the creation of self-governments. They will constitute an important link in democracy. They will contribute to a growth of work effectiveness and will also provide a great opportunity for the younger generation. The speaker comprehensively described theoretical bases for the innovations that are being prepared.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, in defining his views on some of the problems that had been raised by the participants in the discussion, pointed out that since last August the Central Committee has been dealing first and foremost with the extremely difficult current situation and with determining operative party tasks. However, a task of equal urgency is to tackle broader, long-range problems which the Politburo has already dealt with. This is expressed in the subject matter of the present Third Central Committee Plenum. Putting it on the agenda of the Central Committee's deliberations also confirms the implementation of the resolution of the ninth party congress.

The subject of self-governments is of supreme importance. The party has been dealing with it since the Sixth Central Committee Plenum. Large-scale propaganda work is needed, all the more so as NSZZ Solidarity is trying to bring about accomplished actions at their local level, promoting conceptions of worker self-government which differ in many respects from those defined in the stance of the party which corresponds to the vital interests of the economy and the community.

The speaker emphasized the significance of planning and executing appropriate tasks in party activity. He warned against demagoguery and ill-considered evaluations. He pointed out the necessity to effectively counter the actions of extremist wings of NSZZ Solidarity and to adopt a resolute stance toward them. The irregularities in the market and tensions are exacerbated by strikes and other irresponsible action. Optimum conditions for introducing economic reforms and elections of self-governments must be created.

The setting up of these conditions will mean that results will count above all.

Referring to the decisions of the congress, the speaker said that as far as bringing to justice those guilty of abuses was concerned, the Prosecutor's Office was conducting intensive investigations and, moreover, the matters which have for a long time been scrupulously considered will shortly begin to enter the court calendars. Following this, Marian Otawa, member of the Central Committee and senior officer-navigator of the Polish Steamship Company in Szczecin, said that the assumptions put forward for the workers' self-government present the problems in an academic way. Today, however, apart from the struggle for self-government and for introducing economic reforms, a struggle for power is being waged. A struggle is being waged against our party and our authority. The interest in self-government on the part of NSZZ Solidarity is in the current situation orientated toward the selection of directors. In this a further step in the assumption of power is seen.

I really cannot understand, said the speaker, why we are afraid to adopt, unequivocally, a position regarding the appointment of directors of enterprises. After all, at the congress we clearly stated that we will not give up the right of appointment, while at the same time making the reservation that the main criterion for assessing the leading personnel will be real qualifications and not the appropriate curriculum vitae of the candidates.

The current economic situation in the country was discussed by the chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej. He pointed to the decline in industrial production which was noted in July and August of this year, to the reduced coal extraction, and to the reduction in the procurement of livestock. All this caused difficulties in the deliveries of food and industrial items to the domestic market.

Reporting on these matters, the deputy premier presented some steps being taken by the government to save the situation. He also spoke of the need to increase exports. The key to enlivening the economic situation is above all the acceleration of coal extraction. The deputy premier presented the steps, undertaken recently by the government, designed to implement this immeasurably important objective. If we succeed, he said, to advance in coal and agriculture, then there is a chance for a resolution of the crisis in 2 to 3 years.

Julian Kraus, Central Committee member, foreman and first secretary of the PZPR factory committee in the small-capacity car factory in Bielsko-Biala, said that the party should not only talk with NSZZ Solidarity but that there is a need for dialogue with the entire community, a need to inform it not only about fundamental matters but also about those which still interest working people on a daily basis. It is a question among fundamental matters but also about those which still interest working people on a daily basis. It is a question among others of reporting, for example in the press, radio and television, on the progress made in bringing to justice persons who committed errors and distortions and on efforts which serve to combat the social rabble [margines społeczny].

The next speaker, Prof Kazimierz Doktor of the Polish Academy of Sciences, said that the party must firmly speak in favor of social administration, planning and good management. Enterprise self-government should assume the management of its own assets, and also take responsibility for the living standard of the inhabitants. There is a need to arouse a grassroots social ability to cope, to arouse enterprise and actions which serve the popularization of work.

Walerian Solinski, Central Committee member and deputy chief metallurgist in the Lower Silesian metallurgical works of Nowa Sol in Zielona Gora Voivodship, expressed the view that it is not true that the setting up of self-governments with full power is the only chance to overcome the crisis.

Such possibilities should be discerned in a combination of principles of self-government with a central system of economic management. It is necessary to make it incumbent on the PZPR to have the Sejm quickly pass the bill on the workers' self-government.

The speaker voiced his support for maintaining the leading role of the party in our economy. He also presented in detail his view of the further development of the situation in the country while addressing a number of specific questions to the government. He also pointed to imperfections in the way the internal party information system functioned.

Henryk Wojtal, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Krosno Voivodship PZPR Committee, said that those who think that the renewal which has begun would immediately change the difficult socio-economic situation were incorrect--a situation which was made additionally worse by the phenomena of chaos and anarchy. In the view of the speaker, too much discussion has been taking place. It is necessary to concentrate even more on practical activities. Economic reforms must be started in enterprises which should concentrate on their fundamental activities and not have to deal also with matters pertaining to exports and rationalization. He criticized the mechanisms slowing down the development of these spheres.

The next to speak in the discussion was Karol Mokijewski, candidate member of the Central Committee and secretary of the PZPR factory committee at the POLMO-SHL special vehicles factory in Kielce. He stressed that the principles of independence, self-government and self-financing at enterprises should be accompanied by the awareness of the social and political consequences stemming from the introduction of these undertakings. The economic reforms will be decisive not only for the material everyday conditions of workforces but for the state as a whole.

Tadeusz Wysocki, candidate member of the Central Committee and steelworker at the Marceli Nowotko factory in Warsaw, presented the views of his workforce on the concept of self-government. He stressed that a trait of workers was their great sense of responsibility for the development of production. However, one must make sure that joint management and initiatives should have favorable conditions.

Zbigniew Kamecki, candidate member of the Central Committee and academic lecturer at the Higher School of Farming at the farming academy in Warsaw, stressed in his speech that the introduction of the self-government for the workforces was an urgent necessity. However, it is important that conditions should be prepared for this to be able to function. In connection with the changes in the system of management being carried out in our country it is necessary to deepen society's knowledge about the principles and aims of the economic reforms. The speaker also touched on matters connected with the role and position of a director, pointing out that the use to date of the so-called right to appointment had led to a defective cadre policy. Competent and honest people are needed in the leadership cadre. The party cannot abandon its say on their selection.

The next person taking part in the discussion, Andrzej Buszowski, candidate member of the Central Committee and head of a department at the Institute of Trends and Prices of Foreign Trade, concentrated his attention on the principles governing the functioning of self-government in his ministry which, as he stressed, constitutes a specific sphere of activity. The Ministry of Foreign Trade should play the role of authentic co-author of national economic plans.

The speaker, in the context of the arbitrary holding back and controlling by certain NSZZ Solidarity cells of shipments earmarked for abroad, described matters connected with the turnover of agriculture-foodstuff articles.

With available statistical data, he demonstrated that transactions in this sphere are very advantageous for Poland. They should be maintained at a proper level because the import of foodstuffs is considerably greater than what we sell to other countries. Thanks to these transactions the foodstuff articles imported from abroad, including meat and fats, are markedly assisting the home market.

This has been a summary of some of the speeches during today's discussion at the Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Let me remind you that we covered all the speeches in previous editions of our radio news.

Later in the deliberations, Tadeusz Porebski, chairman of the Resolutions and Motions Commission and member of the Central Committee Politburo, presented draft documents of the Third Central Committee Plenum.

After a debate and the submission of amendments the following documents were adopted:

The Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum has passed a resolution on tasks of the party in development of workers' self-government of the workforces in socialist enterprises under the economic reforms.

A resolution has been adopted on the formation of a commission for the explanation of the circumstances and facts as well as causes of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic. This commission has been set up in conformity with the decision of the ninth extraordinary party congress.

The plenum has endorsed the composition of a new commission of the Central Committee: the Mining Industry Commission.

It also adopted the Politburo proposal concerning the co-opting to the Central Committee commissions of first secretaries of party voivodship committees, who are not members or candidate members of the Central Committee.

The plenum has also approved the general outlines of the work regulations for problem commissions in the party Central Committee.

Gen Kiszczak Speaks

LD040902 Warsaw PAP in English 0808 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep (PAP)--One of the speakers during today's debates on the 3rd plenary meeting of the PUWP CC was Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, Minister of internal affairs. He polemized with opinions expressed by other discussants claiming that various hostile and criminal actions are not checked firmly enough by the authorities. The general reminded his listeners of many examples of such firm counteraction by the state organs. For instance, several dozen thousand of illegally printed hostile and festering books, leaflets, posters, appeals and instructions were seized in recent months, as was a considerable number of copying machines, paper, and type bits used for these purposes. Preparatory legal proceedings were opened against all persons engaged in printing, circulating or publishing of such materials.

Established were 34 perpetrators of despoliations of the graves of Soviet soldiers who fell fighting for Poland's liberation in World War II. Legal proceedings are underway.

Criminal proceedings were also opened against farmers who tried to grab state land and incorporate it into their farms.

Legal proceedings were also initiated in all cases of violence against militiamen (there were 850 such cases since the beginning of 1981).

Other instances of firmness cited by the general included the foiling of attempts to organize a protest march on behalf of the so-called political prisoners, coping with the bus and lorry blockade in central Warsaw, foiling the so-called days without press, and others.

"The minister of internal affairs, helped by understanding and approval of the public, is capable to counteract and paralyze manifestations of destructive activity, infringing upon social order," said the minister.

Self-Government Resolution

LD032310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2115 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text of resolution of the Third Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on the tasks of the party in the development of self-government of the workforce in socialist enterprises under conditions of economic reform]

[Text] The Central Committee states that the development of employees' self-government constitutes an important stage in the consolidation of socialist social relations in our country. Of fundamental significance is the creation of political conditions favoring this development in all fields of the economy and the life of the community.

Economic reform has a fundamental significance for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy. It will favor the liberation of the workforces' initiative for more efficient work.

The PZPR initiated the reforms and will give full political support to their efficient implementation. The Central Committee points out that the reform is being prepared and put into effect in an exceptionally complicated economic situation, and during a time of political struggle.

Despite this, the Central Committee confirms most forcefully the necessity of carrying out the reforms. The implementation of the reforms' assumptions will favor the development of socialist democracy and the consolidation of the socialist character of our economy. As a result of the reforms, central planning will concentrate on strategic problems of development. The role of the community in the creation of plans will increase, and in the controlling of their implementation.

The independent and self-governing enterprise, acting under self-financing principles, will become the fundamental link in the economy.

The way the development and functioning of enterprises is influenced toward ensuring the coordination between their activity and general social interests will take place chiefly with the assistance of economic instruments. In the transitional period in conditions of drastic shortages of energy, raw and other materials it will be necessary to justify the distribution (rozdzielnictwo) of these production factors in order to ensure the satisfaction of the elementary needs of society.

The Central Committee believes that it is fundamentally important to create workers' self-governments and bring enterprises onto the road of independence based on appropriate legal foundations as quickly as possible--foundations which are necessary for the reforms to be introduced on 1 January 1982.

The Central Committee recommends to the PZPR Sejm Deputies' Club that it launch an initiative in the Sejm to create a commission dealing with matters of workers' self-government, the task of which would be to watch over the functioning and development of the self-government of workforces at enterprises. Similar initiatives should be launched by party (?legal) teams in voivodship People's Councils.

The Central Committee believes that it is vital for the government to present a schedule for the introduction of reforms in individual areas of the economy during the month of September. In particular, work should be completed on the complex of draft statutes, particularly relating to the planning of fiscal measures in enterprises and to the principles governing the creation of wage funds and payments to workers; that the preparation and access of enterprises to draft government executive acts be simultaneous and that there should be a system whereby the leadership cadre and workforces should be given general training in the management of enterprises in the period when the reform is being prepared and after it is introduced.

The Central Committee makes it incumbent on party echelons and organizations to mount powerful and widespread explanatory activities in order to create among factory workforces a political climate which is favorable for winning over to the concepts of workers self-government and economic reforms the working people, the trade unions and youth organizations. These matters will find an appropriate place in the party training system.

Party organizations, managerial personnel of enterprises as well as the press, radio and television should give comprehensive information about the principles for establishing a wages fund and remuneration for the creation and the distribution of profits and for the creation of resources for the development of enterprises. It is necessary to establish among work forces a sense of their joint responsibility for satisfying social needs, for the level of costs and the quality of production, for the implementation of export tasks, for working conditions, and for the implementation of the social rights of employees.

Party organizations in enterprises should display initiative in actions aimed at organizing worker self-government and at shaping its high position. Party members should initiate the establishment of founding commissions of worker self-government. The objective of their activity would be to work out, on the basis of draft laws on self-government and on the basis of experience, a draft statute of self-government, and also to make consultations about it with workers and to prepare recommendations of candidates to self-government bodies. The best, the most experienced workers, workers of the right moral stature who are involved in social work and who enjoy the respect of the work force, should be elected to those bodies.

In order for an enterprise to function correctly, it is of fundamental importance that the personnel, in particular the managerial personnel, be trained and correctly selected. The Central Committee, in implementing the reform, is counting on proven and mature managerial personnel to play a great part in ensuring the functioning of the economy in extremely difficult conditions. These personnel should be protected from unjustified attacks. Conditions ensuring a correct and effective implementation of the economic reform should be created for it. The government should define principles for selecting people to key posts in an enterprise, attaching primary importance to professional qualifications and the ability to develop relations among people and to reconcile national aims with the aims of a workforce. People of a right sociopolitical and moral stature, able people capable of making innovations and experienced in leading teams of people, should be appointed to key posts.

The appointment of a director should be made by a supreme or local body of state administration with the agreement of the council of a workforce. In order to elect the most suitable candidates to the posts of directors of enterprises, an open competition [konkurs] should be used which would be announced by a competition commission set up by an appropriate organ of the state administration. The commission should be comprised of representatives of the council of the workforce, of the party organization, trade unions, socialist unions of youth, socioprofessional associations, which are active in the enterprise, and of founding body.

In enterprises on a smaller scale, the workforce council may appoint the director from among the candidates put forward by a competition. The right to endorse the director belongs to the appropriate organ of state administration.

The Central Committee makes it, moreover, incumbent on the party organizations in the enterprises and other units, during the whole preparatory period, to take an active part in the implementation of the reform, and in particular to carry out a systematic evaluation of the preparations by the enterprise to introduce reform, and in particular of the transition to the principles of the full self-financing of its activity.

Attention should be drawn to the factors shaping the economics of the enterprise in the conditions of reform, particularly to the influence of the new supply prices on its financial situation in 1982, to the coproduction links, to the envisaged social effects on the workforce, for example, among other things the influence on the level of wages, employment, social and housing funds, as well as the effect on market and export production.

(?The Central Committee makes it incumbent on) the party members to initiate work into the statutes of the enterprises and the proposals for creating economic amalgamations [zrzeszen gospodarczych] and for party members to actively participate in the work of the enterprise groups—which were developed at the directive of the chairman of the Council of Ministers—on matters of economic reform. The task of the enterprise groups should be the many-sided preparation of the enterprises activity according to the new principles.

The PZPR Central Committee makes it incumbent on the voivodship, municipal, district, parish and works committees to: organize with the joint participation of the scientific milieu and the Polish economics society, the Supreme Technical Organization and the association of accountants, economic training and help in the implementation of the economic reform; inspire the radio, press and television to widely popularize and explain issues connected with employees' self-government and with the economic reform; systematically assess and control the implementation of the reform, with particular consideration to its social effects.

The PZPR Central Committee makes it incumbent on the Politburo to conduct periodical evaluations of the course of the reform's implementation, and on the functioning of the self-government of the enterprise workforces.

The Central Committee makes it incumbent on the Politburo, the voivodship committees and the relevant problem commissions to submit comprehensive reports on the state of implementing the economic reform at the plenary session of the Central Committee during the first half of 1982.

[Signed] PZPR Central Committee

Third PZPR Plenum Ends

LD031556 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The 2-day plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee ended today in Warsaw.

Twenty-one speakers took the floor today during the discussion on the tasks of the party in the shaping of the self-government of workforces of socialist enterprises in the conditions of the economic reform. The closing speech given by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, was warmly received by the participants in the session.

The plenum adopted the following documents: a resolution concerning the tasks of the party in the shaping of self-government of the workforces of socialist enterprises in the conditions of the economic reform; and a resolution concerning the setting up of a commission to investigate the circumstances around and the causes of social conflicts throughout the history of the Polish People's Republic. This commission has been set up in accordance with a decision of the ninth party congress.

The plenum endorsed the composition of the new commission of the Central Committee, the Mining Commission. Also adopted was the proposal of the Politburo concerning the secondment to the Central Committee commissions of those first secretaries of voivodship committees who are not members or deputy members of the Central Committee.

New regulations for the work of the problematic commissions of the party Central Committee were endorsed.

PZPR CONTROL COMMISSION BEGINS PLENARY SESSION

LD031235 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The Central Party Control Commission met today for its first meeting following the Ninth PZPR Congress. The session is devoted to matters connected with making more concrete the main directions and methods of work of the commission in the postcongress period, taking the current sociopolitical situation into account. The Central Party Control Commission plenum is also to pass regulations on the commission's work and to set up expert teams. Commission Chairman Jerzy Urbanski delivered a report on the main directions of work and tasks of the commission. Discussion then began.

Governing Regulations Approved

LD032331 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Today's session of the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP] examined matters connected with solidifying the main directions of its work and methods of its activity following the Ninth PZPR Congress, taking into consideration the current social and political situation.

A decision was made to approve, as presented in the report and the discussion, the directions of the work of the commission and the methods of its activities. They have been determined to be the mandatory guidelines for the CKKP and the party control commissions at all levels. The regulations of the CKKP have also been approved.

KKP SESSION ENDS: PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Leaders Answer Questions

LD031824 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity is to end its session in Gdansk this evening. In the break in the session, after the reports of the congress and electoral commissions, a press conference was held. Lech Walesa, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Andrzej Celinski, Marian Jurczyk, Bogdan Lis and Bronislaw Geremek answered the questions of numerous journalists. According to our Gdansk correspondent, those questions concerned, among other things, the union's strategy, radio and television coverage of the congress, worker self-government and also the current conflicts in Olsztyn and Rzeszow. Lech Walesa stated, among other things, that mistakes ought to be uncovered but that it should also be remembered that winter will soon take us by surprise. He said the effectiveness of the union's activities depends first and foremost on unity. As far as the strategy of the union is concerned a full answer to this question ought to be given by the congress. In Lech Walesa's view, local conflicts, such as for instance in Olsztyn, enfeeble the union.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz presented once again the main points of the resolution adopted by the KKP and those concerning radio and television reports from the congress. An appeal was once again made to journalists, during the conference, requesting them to report about the work of the congress in a pertinent and a comprehensive way.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz, explaining the issue of self-government stated that the KKP holds the view that this is the sole realistic way for extricating the country out of the crisis.

Further Details

LD032034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The 2-day session of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity came to an end today in Gdansk. The whole of today's session was devoted to the preparations for the first national congress of this union's delegates. Reports on the work of the electoral congress and auditing commissions were presented and discussed. According to the electoral commission, the electoral campaign of Solidarity was conducted under difficult conditions. It transpires from the data (?presented) by this commission that the union currently has 8,447,000 members. Nine hundred and thirteen delegates (?have been elected) to the congress. A press conference, in which Lech Walesa participated, was held during the break in the session.

GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN ON SOLIDARITY MEDIA COVERAGE

LD031814 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The government press spokesman announces that the resolution of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity dated 3 September contains an essential inaccuracy in the sentence about the services laid on for the Solidarity congress. The government side made these services dependent on the union abandoning its threats of staging a protest action in the press, radio and television. The government side has made the conclusion of an agreement on services, and not the services themselves, conditional in this manner. The government side has stressed that, irrespective of whether an agreement is concluded or not, radio and television will provide services to the congress and report on its deliberations. Of course, the way these services are carried out and the range of these services will depend on the opportunities given to reporting crews to operate at the congress. KKP ascribes to the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs the intention of ignoring the congress which is in total contradiction with [word indistinct] clear declarations from the government side.

WARSAW PREVIEWS SOLIDARITY CONGRESS IN GDANSK

LD041138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Unidentified Warsaw Radio correspondent reporting from Gdansk]

[Excerpts] Not quite 22 hours remain before the first national Solidarity congress gets underway. The solemn opening of the deliberations will take place tomorrow in Gdansk's Oliwia Hall at 1000 [0800 GMT]. Exactly 912 delegates representing the union's 9.5 million members are to take part in the meeting.

During the congress a special newspaper will be issued entitled GŁÓD WOLNY [FREE VOICE]. It will have a basic edition of more than 10,000 copies. The first edition appeared this morning. An editorial article stressed the double significance of Solidarity's deliberations which are getting underway tomorrow in the country's present socioeconomic situation. At the same time the article sums up the work done so far by the union.

It emerges from several official [word indistinct] numerous invited guests will be taking part in the Gdansk deliberations. Among others, Lech Walesa has invited close to 100 activists from sociopolitical life and representatives of the clergy and of cultural life. These include the primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, Professor Jan Kielanowski, Krzysztof Penderecki, Stefan Bratkowski and Andrzej Wajda.

The leaders of the Gdansk area have also been invited to take part in the congress: Tadeusz Fiszbach, first secretary of the voivodship party committee, and Voivoda Jerzy Kolodziejski.

CORRECTIONS TO TU OFFICIALS' STATEMENTS ON MEDIA

The following corrections to the item entitled "Government, Solidarity Comment on Media Talks" and subtitled "TU Officials' Statements" published in the 2 September Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, pages G5-6, identify the speakers.

On page G5, fourth paragraph, line one, make read "[Unidentified voice] I think that...." (correcting identity of speaker)

On page G6, first paragraph, line one, make read "[Walesa] Above all, it...." (correcting identity of speaker)

Same page, second paragraph, line one, make read "[Unidentified voice] But I think...." (correcting identity of speaker)

Same page, third paragraph, line one, make read "[Walesa] Just as in...." (correcting identity of speaker)

Same page, fourth paragraph, line one, make read "We realize the...." (deleting superfluous identification of speaker)

RAKOWSKI COMMENTS ON POLITICAL SITUATION

LD032029 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] At a meeting in the INTERPRESS press center in Warsaw with foreign journalists, Deputy Premier Rakowski described the current social and political situation in Poland.

He said that it was the government which wanted to initiate talks with Solidarity which, as he said, were broken off. The deputy premier said, among other things, that Poland is a completely different country compared to that of before August 1980 -- different both in a positive and in a negative sense. Among the positive transformations, he mentioned the universal democratization of social life, the appearance of the new trade unions that declared a desire to defend the real interests of the workers and enormous changes in the principles of the functioning of the party. However, he said the most important achievement was the formation of the line of accord and the maintenance of it for the last 12 months.

The deputy premier considered the worsening economic crisis to be the most negative phenomenon. He also discussed its sources. Further, he went on to say that the party supports the line of social accord which forms the basis for this policy. [sentence as heard] He also gave an extensive account of the implementation of the Gdansk and Szczecin agreement. He gave assurances that the government was not aiming at confrontation with Solidarity but (on the other hand) its policy had to consider the good of the whole nation.

The deputy premier then dealt with the frequently heard accusation that Solidarity is attempting to take over the power in our state. He stressed that numerous statements by the activists of Solidarity proved that such an opinion is correct.

Further on Remarks

LD032355 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski addressed a press conference held today at the press center of the Polish INTERPRESS agency. He spoke with foreign journalists now in Poland.

The most important negative phenomenon, Rakowski said, is the deepening economic crisis. The reasons for this crisis should be sought in the mistakes of the Gierek group, in the inability of the apparatus of power to adapt itself in the first post-August period, and in the series of strikes which strained the national economy.

The party, Rakowski stated, supports the line of the social accord. However, it seems that some leaders of NSZZ Solidarity have begun to feel cramped in the framework defined by the Gdansk and Szczecin agreements. [Words indistinct] that now in many cases the authorities were occupying a more decisive position. Now we need a strong state and a strong, effective administration. We cannot allow the country to become engulfed in anarchy. The further destruction of the state could have an adverse effect not only on the fate of the Poles but on the fate of Europe as well.

Rakowski noted that criticisms have been increasingly expressed about the activity of (?certain) groups of NSZZ Solidarity. The government (?had received), for example, copies of open letters by members of NSZZ Solidarity to the leaders of the trade union in which their actions are criticized.

The continuation on the present course by NSZZ Solidarity leaders, a course of open attacks on the authorities, intensifies the risk of confrontation, Rakowski said. The continuation of this course would cause the departure of moderate forces from NSZZ Solidarity. But agreement and cooperation with the government would cause the wing of the extremists and hawks to split from NSZZ Solidarity, said the deputy prime minister of the Council of Ministers. I am opposed to the departure of moderate forces from NSZZ Solidarity for it is precisely they who guarantee future cooperation.

In connection with the frequently-expressed accusation that NSZZ Solidarity was striving to seize power in the state, Rakowski stressed that today it would be possible to issue a voluminous "white book" comprising only statements by NSZZ Solidarity figures confirming the correctness of such an assessment. The statements made by these figures, said Rakowski, contain clear calls for the uncompromising elimination of the authorities and the party.

Rakowski cited, in particular, statements by J. Rulewski and B. Lis.

More on 'Confrontation'

NC031736 Paris AFP in English 1722 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep (AFP)--The Polish Government has no intention of seeking confrontation with the independent trade union federation Solidarity, Polish Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski said here today.

But he told a press conference that the country must not slide into anarchy, chaos and illegality. Poland needed a strong nation and a strong administration to ensure this did not happen, he added.

The minister, who has responsibility for relations with the unions, said the authorities were not, in principle, opposed to Solidarity having access to the (official) information media, but there was no question of the union controlling it.

He pointed out that the union had seven weekly publications with a circulation ranging from 50,000 to 500,000 copies [word indistinct] as more than 300 reviews which, he maintained, were not censored.

Mr Rakowski roundly condemned the "hawks" within Solidarity which were seeking "open confrontation" and thus threatening Poland's independence.

WALESA INTERVIEWED ON IMPORTANCE OF BELIEF

AUD21619 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 31 Aug 81 p 3

[Tadeusz Knade interview with Lech Walesa: "You Will Not Win If You Do Not Believe;" in Gdansk on 21 August]

[Excerpts] [Question] Were you sure from the very beginning that the ideals you were fighting for in the Gdansk shipyards would find acceptance?

[Answer] I worked "at the bottom" for 21 years, although I could have studied and advanced. I think that I still know what the people want. So far I have not had to find out what is and what is not accepted. I know that my present activities include new elements and that I take into account other viewpoints when making decisions, which may distort my thinking and create differences with other people. But I do not think that these "other" arguments are of first-class importance. Too little time has gone by since when I worked "at the bottom."

[Question] It is remarkable that the first stage of the strike in the Gdansk shipyards and in the Ddynia shipyards was organized by young people. The same can be said of Solidarity.

[Answer] I think that older, experienced people would never have believed that free trade unions could exist in Poland and that our struggle could prove victorious. Only the people who were less prudent and less experienced could have believed in all that. This is why young people dominate our movement. It was simply daring, less prudence and more courage that helped us achieve that feat.

[Question] The church offered its pastoral work as soon as the strike in the Gdansk shipyards began.

[Answer] Rev Canon Jankowski, rector of the shipyards parish, and Dr Myczka, lay employee of the Gdansk curia, whose lectures on christian social sciences I had attended, were in touch with us from the very beginning. Through my contacts with the curia I tried to find out which problems of the church required our priority commitment. For example, I wanted to have religious lessons introduced into schools at once, but I was prevailed upon not to insist on this issue. We also put in a radical demand that the holy mass should be televised, but we were told that our tired people might be confused by televised masses, so we accepted the thesis that radio broadcast holy masses met the needs of the sick and that the healthy should go to church.

[Question] It is remarkable that the Interfactory Founding Committee's demands regarding believers were accepted by the government commission without greater resistance.

[Answer] Oh no. We had to fight very hard and we had a good argument: What difficulties are there to make the transmission of the holy mass, for example, impossible? I rang up Mr Jagielski three times and said: You have not an iota of good will, sir, because there is still no holy mass on the air. We were very tough. There will be no more talks if the government fails to satisfy us on the holy mass broadcasts. As for me, I was most committed to favorably settling that issue.

[Question] As a strike leader and, later on, as the chairman of the Solidarity National consultative Commission you were in touch with Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski and are in constant touch with Primate Glemp and Dr Romuald Kukolowicz, who is the episcopate's expert....

[Answer] I met the late cardinal twice and was able to find out what a great man was facing me. He also seemed to see through me at one--enough not to have to talk to me for a long time.

Primate Glemp's initial activities showed us at once how devoted he is to the affairs of the church and the fatherland, and how wise he is. During the first audience we talked for a long time, but this was too short for me. I believe profoundly that Archbishop Glemp is a new great primate of Poland. I am in constant touch with the primate's experts. Dr Romuald Kukolowicz's activities are exceptionally fruitful. He is an embodiment of great wisdom and great knowledge and stuns one with his intelligence and culture.

[Question] Solidarity's philosophy has been demonstrated during all the press conferences to date. During one of them Leon Bedkowski, at that time press spokesman of the National Consultative Commission, said: "This is a question of our millennium and of our membership in the Christian-Mediterranean stratum."

[Answer] How do I regard the presence of the symbols of Catholicism in Solidarity? If I had to repeat whatever has happened since August 1981 I would still go for a Christian Solidarity. It seems to me that searching for religion is the basic issue of man's life. If we lose--and we may lose--and if we again make the effort to rise, we will follow exactly the same line. Really, you cannot win if you do not believe. It is true that you can believe in various things, but Christ's teachings are still the most enduring feature of our society. If they followed God's Ten Commandments we could have achieved just anything.

[Question] Many people may be shocked by the religiousness of your attitudes.

[Answer] I make no secret that religion plays a crucial role in my life. Religion brings some curbs with it. It makes you think. It opposes the attitude that says that refusing to lend an ear to many issues is the most convenient thing to do.

[Question] There are many people bent on proving that the Gdansk shipyards strike was from the very beginning inspired by external forces, including the church.

[Answer] In no case can it be said that the church tried in any way to inspire and manage the strike. Of course, when people wanted pastoral care the church had to enter the shipyards. The clergy led the prayers and read the holy masses. I will add: The church did not even display any wish to interfere in the strike in any way. Nor does the church manage Solidarity now. Of course, we know that the church represents experience. In its homilies and messages it makes suggestions and issues warnings, but it has no decisive influence on the way Solidarity is run.

[Question] Do you think it is possible to improve the situation of the present-day Pole?

[Answer] What kind of culture can society display if 10 people want to buy one loaf of bread? People must be fed, but some think that if society is hungry it is easier to deprive it of its will.

[Question] The Solidarity elections are approaching. What are your hopes in this connection?

[Answer] I will fight, of course, because I must. If Solidarity relieves me of responsibility I will regard it as a gift from the heavens and will devote myself to my family. I feel a great need for this. I want to educate my children as decent human beings. Perhaps my six kids will achieve more 20 years from now than I am achieving at present.

[Question] What about the program for the coming elections?

[Answer] I regard the August agreements as the basic program, but we will take into account the views of our experts, who are outstanding in their respective fields.

[Question] In the past year the authorities engaged in dialogue and changed the style of their activities.

[Answer] Last year we laid bare the authorities' weaknesses and errors, which had accumulated in the previous 26 years. We could still lay bare various things. The situation has reached a point at which the authorities are losing social acceptance and support. What next? This situation is forcing us to assume responsibility for the country's fortunes. We must all assume this responsibility—all social groups and the journalistic community too.

As Solidarity, we must think over new methods of activity that are socially effective and that will ensure that we understand each other increasingly better, and that those who are on the sidelines will come to us.

[Question] Your life is such that everything seems possible. From a somewhat underprivileged person you have developed into a person people listen to and curry favor with. Are you not afraid that you, too, may succumb to the temptations that stem from power, even if it is merely trade union power?

[Answer] I know that power corrupts and that it can turn your head. I think about it every day on my way to the holy mass. I also keep in mind that before August I was a common fool whom no one loved and liked, and that now I encounter tokens of affection and that people tell me that I am clever and good looking. I know very well that all this is just a game played by a fickle fortune. I assure you my head will not be turned.

NATIONWIDE WARNING STRIKES, THREATS CONTINUE

Rudna Mine Protest

LD031712 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Correspondent's Report from Legnica]

[Text] Social tension has increased sharply in the copper basin. Early this morning, in protest against the exceptionally difficult supply situation as to food, toiletries, reduced cigarette allocations, and against mistakes in the functioning of the rationing and trade system, the night shift of the chief region of the Rudna mine did not come to the surface. Morning shift workers joined the protestors. The miners themselves are saying that their protest action was not prepared in advance and was not planned by anyone. It stems spontaneously from the exceptionally hard working conditions and from the shortcomings in the supply of the most necessary articles. In their opinion, and they stressed this with bitterness, the hard work done by copper miners still continues to be underestimated.

(?Zdzislaw Barczewski and [name indistinct] went to see those protesting underground.) It was decided that [words indistinct] in the presence of the work force. Then the miners came up to the surface. A protest rally was held [words indistinct] work forces and Solidarity works commissions from other mines and copper basin works. The negotiations, with the participation of the Legnica voivoda and representatives of the Legnica Solidarity union, were very turbulent. The voivodship authorities were accused of being inefficient and apathetic in settling the most burning questions affecting the life of the region's inhabitants. When it was ascertained that the voivoda does not have the power to make a decision granting Solidarity control of the production of resources and the distribution of food the talks were broken off. The protestors adopted the following resolution:

The work force of the Rudna mine and the works commission of all mines and works in the copper basin, who have assembled in a protest rally on 3 September, demand that the following conditions be met by the voivodship administration by 9 September: introduction of a unified rationing system of primary commodities on the same level as in other voivodships; inclusion of pregnant and nursing women in cigarette rationing; securing full quantities of rationed goods throughout the voivodship [words indistinct], streamlining commerce in the voivodship; granting Solidarity representatives access [word indistinct] and distribution of food.

The Legnica voivoda has been made directly responsible for seeing that these demands are met.

If the demands are not met the work forces of the mines represented will proclaim an 8-hour warning strike on 10 September and a full strike on 15 September. Under these circumstances it is expected that further talks will take place in the presence of government representatives.

Gryf Fishing Enterprise

LD032226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The long-range fishing enterprise Gryf of Szczecin has reported that [words indistinct] ships [words indistinct] which are at present at the African fishing ranges in the region of southern [words indistinct] have put forward three basic demands: to finalize talks on the immediate introduction for the fishing ships in that region of the so-called (?preferred) parcels [words indistinct] exchange of U.S. dollars to other currencies in accordance with the going rate [words indistinct] noninclusion of free Saturdays in holidays.

If these demands are not met a warning strike will start on 5 September and on 7 September strike and occupation (?of ships) will begin. Ship crews will (?continue to) perform servicing duties in accordance with the requirements of ship safety.

The crews of the ships consider Solidarity's activity so far in Gryf enterprise as insufficiently committed to matters affecting maritime employees. Because of this a vote of no confidence has been expressed in its leadership.

Warsaw Notes Demands

LD040112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] The Szczecin deep sea fishing and fishing services enterprise Gryf has reported that crews of its ships currently in African fishing waters have threatened to stage first a warning strike and then a sit-in strike, if their three basic demands are not satisfied. The demands concern the introduction of the so-called fourth navigational zone for fishing ships, including an appropriate currency allowance in this zone; exchange of U.S. dollars for other currencies in accordance with the rate of exchange applied at individual ports; and exclusion of free Saturdays from holidays.

Olsztyn Strike Continues

LD031338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Sep 81

[From correspondent in Olsztyn]

[Text] The impasse remains at the Olsztyn printing plant. Mediation attempts by the Olsztyn voivoda, Olsztyn deputies, Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] representatives and Prof (Andrzej Szumachowski) have not resolved the conflict. Efforts are still being made to get the interested parties to agree on the form and conditions of [words indistinct]. Differences still exist over the interpretations of the incident which led to the proclamation of the strike and of other matters that make it more difficult to solve the conflict. Mutual mistrust and wariness make it even more difficult to reach a mutually acceptable compromise, which everyone would welcome with relief.

Member of the KKP Presidium Stanislaw Wadolowski arrived in Olsztyn yesterday. He is talking with the strikers.

A resolution backing the strikers was passed yesterday at a meeting of the NSZZ Solidarity board of the Warmia and Mazury region. The board's statement says preparations will begin in Olsztyn Voivodship today to place the whole region on a strike alert.

Warsaw Reports Olsztyn Dispute

LD041218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Wojciech [surname indistinct] reporting from Olsztyn]

[Text] For 17 days now it has not been possible to effectuate constructive talks at the Olsztyn printing plant between the striking work force and persons at whom the strikers are leveling accusations and demands. The mediation attempts made so far by the Olsztyn voivoda, Olsztyn Sejm deputies and representatives of Solidarity's National Consultative Commission [KKP] and by an emissary of the primate of Poland have not produced results. There continue to be divergencies as to the form and conditions for a meeting between the parties involved. The day before yesterday, as we have already reported, Warmia-Mazury region's Solidarity board adopted a resolution about the beginning of preparations that aim to put the whole region into a state of strike readiness.

As of yesterday, a new (?phase) in resolving the conflict has been taking shape. For 2 days now the latest KKP representative--a member of its Presidium, Stanislaw Wadolowski,--has been at the Olsztyn printing plant. Yesterday, on the other hand, (Zbigniew Piesiewicz), an emissary of the minister for trade union affairs, arrived in Olsztyn for mediation purposes.

Government Mediator Arrives

LD031758 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Our Olsztyn correspondent reports that there is new hope for solving the conflict between the striking workers of the Olsztyn printing plant on the one hand and the Olsztyn voivoda, the voivodship prosecutor and the chief editor of GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA on the other. Zbigniew Piesiewicz, a representative of the minister for trade union relations, arrived in Olsztyn today in order to mediate the dispute. He has already met with the strike committee and with Stanislaw Wadolowski, a representative of the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity who has been in the printing plant since yesterday.

It is possible that a meeting with the Olsztyn voivoda could come about even today.

Industrial TU Opposes Strikes

LD032154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The voivodship Consultative Commission of Industrial Branch Trade Unions in Olsztyn published a statement today which stressed that the announcement of a general strike in the voivodship, contained in the statement of NSZZ Solidarity Warmia-Mazury region, is certainly not in the interest of working people.

The Industrial Branch Trade Unions have protested against the strike threat. Simultaneously, the voivodship Consultative Commission of Industrial Branch Trade Unions in Olsztyn demands that the administrative authorities of the voivodship ensure the constitutional right to work for all those who will not participate in the strike.

Radom Cancels Strike Readiness

LD040534 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Our correspondent in Kielce has sent us a telex message reporting that at a general assembly of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity from the Radom region, held yesterday, it was decided to call off the strike readiness that has long been maintained in Radom region. The Solidarity activists based their decision on the fact that the first national congress of the union begins tomorrow.

Rzeszow Printing Strike

LD031835 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The sit-in strike at the printing works in Rzeszow has entered its second day. The strike was begun by printers belonging to NSZZ Solidarity. The daily paper in Rzeszow, NOWINY, printed in the works appeared in fewer numbers than usual and with fewer pages. It has been produced by smaller printing equipment, somewhere outside the Rzeszow printing works.

Developments in Rzeszow

LD041018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] The sit-in strike of Solidarity members at the Rzeszow printing plant continues. As reported earlier, the workforce has declared a vote of no confidence in the current director.

We learn from our Rzeszow correspondent that the last few hours have brought new factors to bear on the situation which could bring the resolution of the dispute closer. Members of the primary party organization in the Rzeszow printing plant decided to set up a mixed commission in order to investigate the charges submitted against the director by the plant's NSZZ Solidarity committee and to suspend him until the special commission concludes its work. In the meantime, the director of the Rzeszow printing plant has resigned from his post.

Bialystok Printers Protest

LD040333 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The sit-in strike at the Rzeszow printing plant is continuing. The plant Solidarity committee has not agreed to the proposal of the amalgamation to set up a special commission to examine the justification for over 30 complaints against the plant director.

As we have already reported, the cause of the strike is the rejection by the printing industry amalgamation of the demand that the director of the printing plant be fired.

Problems have also arisen with the printing of GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA and other regional weeklies in Bialystok. The mechanics of the plant there have refused to repair a rotation machine [maszyna rotacyjna] that broke down.

They explained their decision by the resolution of the plant commission of NSZZ Solidarity, which recommended such a form of protest against the reduced allocations of meat and sausages. Despite this, the GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA appeared yesterday, with reduced circulation and printed on so-called flat machines.

Bydgoszcz Alert 4 Sep

NC031417 Paris AFP in English 1415 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep (AFP)--The local section of the independent Solidarity trade union in Bydgoszcz, some 300 kms (186 miles) northwest of the capital, has called a general strike alert in the region from tomorrow (Friday), union sources in the town said.

The sources said the call follows an announcement by town's public prosecutor's office that an inquiry into incidents here on March 19, in which union members allege they were beaten up by police, was to be closed.

Solidarity said several of its members, attending a March meeting of the regional council, were forcibly evicted by the militia, and three members sustained serious injuries.

The government, under threat of a national strike, promised a full inquiry into the incident and sanctions against those responsible.

But the public prosecutor's office in Bydgoszcz said yesterday the inquiry had been closed and no culprits found.

The Presidium of the local Solidarity branch then decided to call for a general alert in "preparation for a strike", adding that a resolution would be released later.

More on Bydgoszcz

LD040918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Bydgoszcz region's Solidarity executive has proclaimed strike readiness throughout the region as from today. This decision was adopted in connection with the office of the voivodship prosecutor discontinuing the investigation of the Bydgoszcz events. The Bydgoszcz Solidarity executive has also decided to proclaim the date and nature of a full-scale strike not later than on 22 September, that is, after the expected meeting of the Sejm's administration of justice commission.

In the adopted resolution the executive of the region demands that the decision concerning discontinuing the investigation should be annulled and that former deputy voivodas Roman Bak, Stefan Warczak and Wladyslaw (?Trybinski) should be indicted as well as the commander of the security forces, Maj Henryk Bednarek.

Bydgoszcz' Solidarity also demands recalling Prosecutor general Lucjan Czubinski and his deputy Jozef Zyto from their posts.

Radio, TV Union Protest

LD031841 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Board of the Book, Press, Radio and TV Workers' Trade Union, alarmed by an announcement of another 6-day strike by the printers belonging to NSZZ Solidarity, adopted a resolution at its session today protesting the planned strike.

In a situation of the exacerbated economic crisis, in a period of struggle for the credibility of the mass media, depriving journalists and editorial teams of the right to express their pronouncements, reads the statement, is socially harmful. In the situation when the Polish journalists are fighting to make press, radio and television more credible, when the government side also makes certain errors, the statement goes on, the strike constitutes an illogical action.

The Presidium appealed to the printers, members of NSZZ Solidarity, Industrial Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions not to strike and not to take away the chance to fight for truth and the rule of law.

SOLIDARITY LEADERS MEET WITH EDUCATION MINISTER

LD032130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The Polish Press Agency reports that Professor Jerzy Nawrocki, minister of science, higher education and technology today met a delegation of NSZZ Solidarity empowered to hold talks and led by Assistant Professor Janusz Grzelak. The subject of the talks, which were held at the request of NSZZ Solidarity, were matters connected with the work being done on the draft statute on higher education. The Solidarity representatives spoke about the profound anxiety felt by academic centers over the version of the draft statute on higher education put forward by the ministry. This draft, in the view of Solidarity, stands in contradiction in many fundamental matters to the stance of academic centers and to the social draft statute drawn up by the codification commission.

Minister Nawrocki recognized that it was necessary to introduce a few modifications to this draft which reflects, among others, the legal order in force in the country and the powers of state bodies. However, he stressed that it was his aim to put forward to the Council of Ministers a draft statute which has the acceptance of academic centers. It was agreed that by 10 September representatives of NSZZ Solidarity could submit more observations to the minister regarding the ministry's draft statute and then, in a few days, there would be a new meeting between the minister and representatives of the union. At the same time, Professor Nawrocki made the assurance that, irrespective of the results of what was agreed upon, proposals would also be sent to the Council of Ministers which had not been accepted by the ministry and which had been proposed by Solidarity. Both sides agreed that the work on the draft statute on higher education should be completed as quickly as possible.

JOURNALISTS' RESOLUTION ON MEDIA DISPUTE

AU031650 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 81 p 4

[From the column: "Letters to the Editorial Board"]

[Text] To Wieslaw Bek, chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU:

Esteemed colleague, the 25 August issue of TRYBUNA LUDU carried a polemic with the resolution adopted by the main administration of the Association of Polish Journalists concerning the familiar statements issued by representatives of the union's central and Warsaw authorities. Since we have noticed that TRYBUNA LUDU tries to present honestly the journalistic community's disputes, we ask that you publish the full text of the resolution adopted by the union's main administration. Publishing a polemic on the resolution adopted by the central authorities of the union to which you, sir, belong, before the resolution itself has been published, does not seem like a journalistic practice worth resuming. In addition, your polemic completely distorted the contents of the resolution, ignoring our position on various forms of blocking information, and passing over in silence the Supreme Journalist Court's verdict on the formal agreement between 10 August statement and the union's statute.

We will be forced to regard a refusal to fulfill our request as a violation of the principles of honestly informing the public--principles that the union safeguards by vocation and statutory duty.

With kind regards,

[Signed] Dariusz Fikus, secretary general of the Association of Polish Journalists

The Resolution of the Main Administration of the Association of Polish Journalists

The main administration of the Association of Polish Journalists fully shares the concern expressed in the "statement" issued by the union's central and Warsaw authorities on 10 August in connection with the mass media's situation. We confirm that cases are multiplying in which one-sided information is supplied to society, important facts are kept from public opinion and censorship commits unjustified interference. All this is taking place against the Sejm resolution of 10 April 1981 that instructs mass media to provide honest information and interpretation of events.

The extraordinary congress of our union made it mandatory on the union's authorities "to issue consistent and periodic assessments of the current state of information throughout the country (or in the area of the union's individual branches) and of the information and propaganda policy of the state, political parties and other social organizations...." The signatories of the 10 August statement fulfilled this duty imposed on them by the union's congress. The documents relayed to the union's branches and to the members of the union's council confirm the substantive correctness of the statement in question. They refute the accusations contained in the government spokesman's letter to the union's authorities to the effect that the union supposedly undermines the authority and intentions of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

We expressed our position on all attempts to block the channels of social communication in our resolution (of 26 March 1981) on the eve of the contemplated general strike: "The channels of social communication must remain open."

The resolutions received by us from the union's branches express support for the statement of 10 August 1981.

The Supreme Journalist Court unanimously declared that the statement is consistent with the statute.

This resolution was adopted unanimously. Warsaw, 24 August 1981.

From the Editorial Board

By printing the full text of the resolution adopted by the Association of Polish Journalists, we sidestep the previous principle of presenting all documents connected with the "statement" through excerpts and reports. Let us recall that it was in that way that we also published the resolution adopted by the TRYBUNA LUDU basic party organization opposing the position taken by the five officials of the Association of Polish Journalists.

We leave the introductory letter sent to us by the union's secretary without comment.

LATE REPORT: KANIA CLOSING SPEECH AT PZPR PLENUM

LD041246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Speech by PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania at Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 3 September--read by announcer]

[Text] Comrades, we are winding up the first [word indistinct] programatic session of the Central Committee. Discussion during our deliberations reflected full unanimity regarding the role of self-government and its position in our state, [word indistinct] of the socialist state enterprises in the conditions of economic reform. These are matters of tremendous importance. Our conception stems from the model of economic reform approved by the ninth congress. It is expected that the reform will serve as a means of effective and rapid improvement of the economic situation.

Against this background there are demands to accelerate the implementation of this reform, as well as criticism saying that there are people who would like to delay it.

However, the introduction of this reform will not bring about an immediate improvement. The economic system, defined by a document presented to the ninth congress, will only create conditions for greater economic efficiency on a long-term basis.

Some comrades ask: Are we prepared for this reform? They emphasize in this way the need for prudence in introducing it. One can hardly blame them. Our party, the authorities, cannot make a mistake in such a fundamental issue as the system of the organization of the national economy, the economic system of the state. The second reason why caution is necessary is the current difficult living conditions of the population. They must be urgently improved and there must be no question of living conditions deteriorating as a result of ill-conceived experiments.

The state of preparation of various sectors of the national economy for the reform is needless to say uneven. Due to this there is a need to create conditions everywhere favorable to the introduction of reform. It is necessary to treat with all seriousness the decree of Premier Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski concerning setting up a commission in every enterprise which would pave the way for activities assisting the reform. Let us become their active participants and movers.

But we must expect that there are, and presumably will be, sectors of the economy or enterprises which will not be ripe for reform for the next few months. I have in mind here above all the sectors where there is no regular supply of raw materials and where there will be no regular supplies in the future. An example of this is our cement works; many of them are idle due to lack of supplies of coal, and the rubber industry is short of supplies of rubber and other elements due to import difficulties.

The economy can no longer afford mistakes. That is why we have to prepare vigorously the conditions for enforcing the reform, applying at the same time very severe criteria for the translation of the reform into life. We must act in such a way that good results are guaranteed.

The shape of the enterprise envisaged by the reform ensures for it conditions of great economic independence. It will provide a wide field for the initiative of clever, skilled people, of whom we are not short. Their initiative could constitute a great force speeding up our progress and improving the husbandry results.

Comrades during the debate stressed the fundamental truth that independence of enterprises and self-management of work forces ought to serve the interests of the whole national economy and the interests of the community. We do not live in the 18th or at the beginning of the 19th century, when a mass of scattered enterprises could operate in the vast ocean of free competition. All enterprises are tied to one another by many threads, if only through ties of coproduction.

Every enterprise must not only yield economic results but is also called upon to satisfy important needs of our community. Thus profit cannot not become the sole objective of action and the economic advantages which the enterprise brings are a clear proof of its usefulness.

Later Stanislaw Kania said: The system of planning must function to an extent guaranteeing a harmonious functioning of the national economy as an entity. Planning, too, calls for reconstruction, and work is in progress in this direction. Self-management must be formed, bearing in mind these necessities. We attach to it great importance, because self-management will yield economic results. But not only for this reason. It is conducive to initiative. It evokes a sense of responsibility on the part of teams of workers, which through participation in the problems of the enterprise acquire a better perspective. No one can entertain any doubts that the party favors a high position of self-management of the socialist forces in state enterprises.

The question that the socialist state must bear in mind is that of the national interest, and that no one can release state organs from obligations ensuing from the very nature of socialist rule. This duty is concern for the development of the country, for people's living conditions, for their social security, for their education, health and national defense. It can implement its duties only provided that its possibilities are clearly defined, so that the right to work becomes real, as well as the right to education, right to social security, right to housing and to universal medical assistance.

The clearly defined possibilities for the functioning of the state are a guarantee for the implementation of civic rights. We are for a wide range of workers' self-management. It must, however, function and place a high degree of responsibility on all who take part in decisionmaking. Thus we need some kind of equilibrium. If the degree of independence of enterprises is great and the workers' self-management has wide powers, this must be connected with concern for creating an equally high position of the manager of the enterprise, who is above all the representative of the socialist state, the champion of national interest. The manager must have wide powers and great prestige.

We have eminent managers who favor initiative, creation and development of technical thought, efficiency of husbandry and creating a good ambiance among the workforces. But today we come across various manifestations of weakening the position of the manager. In some of the enterprises the situation is really bad.

In these enterprises the labor and technological discipline are weaker and this reflects on productivity. The state cannot renounce the implementation of a personnel policy in the national economy. The party too will not renounce the carrying out of a personnel policy as regards our state organs.

This is the result of historical responsibility borne by the PZPR for the development of the country and for its socialist character. A component part of the leading role of the party is personnel policy. In the past there was quite a lot [words indistinct] in this sphere. Therefore we want to provide as perfect conditions as possible for the development of cadres, for the occupying of leading posts by the most eminent men, most talented and at the same time dedicated to the cause of socialism. In the state we need a cadre system conducive to the development of such people who would create just criteria and assessments, creating an unfailing mechanism for the perfecting and advancement of cadres. In all countries with a modern economy and industry, this is, among other things, the result of a well-functioning cadre policy.

When we look at the enterprise, at the functioning of self-management, we must always bear in mind that productivity--as Lenin said--is in the final reckoning, the most important thing, most essential for the victory of the new social system. Capitalism created productivity unknown in the feudal system. Capitalism can and will be finally defeated thanks to the fact that socialism creates a new and much higher productivity.

In the socialist system there are potential opportunities resulting from the nationalization of the means of production, from the fact that the economy has a planned shape, that the state can concentrate means on research in selected areas corresponding to the interests of the country. We want to exploit these opportunities and find the necessary solutions leading to the acceleration of output serving the whole community. This will be conducive to overcoming the difficult economic situation in the country.

Later Stanislaw Kania said: Certain symptoms of change for the better took shape, particularly in farming. This will form the basis for better supplies of sugar and for an increase of meat output. Combined with the recent price structure this will create conditions for a full tidying up of supplies of bread and grain products.

But if we take a global look at the situation, it does not improve--in fact it deteriorates. This is testified to by a drop in national revenue, a deep state of imbalance and an enormous debt regarding our foreign payments.

The party, all its links, starting with the Central Committee through local echelons, must turn towards the economy, stimulate initiatives, eliminate what is absurd, what hampers its development.

Many comrades have spoken with anxiety about the political situation, about threats to public calm, to socialism, about counterrevolutionary danger. Recently an intensification of aggressive propaganda against the people's rule and socialism, against our allied relations, against the Soviet Union, has manifested itself.

An attempt was made at paralyzing the mass media. On this issue our stance is clear and familiar to all. The threat to paralyse television and radio on the part of our opponents cannot succeed. The authorities will employ such means as are indispensable to prevent it.

We do not want this and we not use this weapon as a threat. Our declaration of accord constitutes an offer of alliance with all those who do not oppose socialism. This also means that we are ready to put up a barrier against all those who seek confrontation, who want to attack socialism, who aim at its destruction and in fact are leading to a national disaster.

There is apparently an increase in awareness in our society about where dangers really are, who really supports the country and wants to overcome the crisis, and who leads to tensions, who wishes to overcome the difficulties and who wants to exploit them against people's power.

Together with the people it is possible to remove all threats to socialism, to ensure internal peace. We shall isolate adventurers from society, from the working class. This is a correct line and a realistic one.

The Solidarity congress is approaching. It is an event of considerable importance for that organization and for the country. Indeed, it makes a difference which trend will prevail at the congress and which program, which line of action will be mapped out, and who will be elected to the authorities. To a considerable extent it will depend on the congress whether that organization will develop as a constructive force of socialism or as a destructive factor of our economic and social life, as a tool of combat against People's Poland, against our party, against our alliances which constitute the basis of our national security, or our independence.

Extremist forces have great expectations. One cannot but agree with the view that it is significant that not one single trade union organization from socialist countries, from Warsaw Pact member-countries, was invited to the congress.

Maybe somebody wanted to demonstrate that Solidarity as an organization operating in People's Poland belongs however to a different world. If that was the objective of the organizers, I think this will assist in a sober assessment of this fact by our community. We want the congress to become a forum molding the program of Solidarity as a trade union, a program of an organization which wants to serve the workers' interests and People's Poland. Such an organization is needed in our country. We will judge Solidarity and draw conclusions after the facts.

Our situation and its development also has an international aspect. We quite rightly say that a stable Poland is an important prerequisite for political stabilization of Europe. This applies even more to the socialist community of which we form a part. We had proof of all this yet again in the course of our joint visit with Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Crimea, during the talks conducted with Comrade Leonid Brezhnev and other members of the CPSU leadership and the leadership of the Soviet state. The results of these talks were dealt with in the joint communique. This is a document of great importance, a document of friendship and cooperation between our parties, our nations and of the alliance of our countries.

In the Crimea we discussed many matters. However, the situation in our country occupied a particular place. This situation interests all the allies. Comrade Leonid Brezhnev stressed this when he referred to talks with leaders of other fraternal parties and states.

All our friends are worried by the difficulties which our country is going through. They strike against the strength of the whole community. After all, Poland is situated in the security zone of the Soviet Union. In assessing our situation during the talks in the Crimea we were guided by assessments of the ninth congress and of the Second Central Committee Plenum. We spoke openly about our economic difficulties; we presented the threats facing our country, threats of a counterrevolutionary nature.

Despite these disquieting facts it is important that, after the great upheavals and arguments, our party is restoring its position and strengthening itself in society, in social organizations and in the mass media. The ninth congress played a great part in this process. Our Army and our forces of public order represent an excellent ideological condition, discipline and exemplary attitudes. This is not only the guardian of independence but also a barrier against the enemies of socialism. The process of consolidating the party, the allied parties, and the socialist youth unions is in progress. The Industrial Branch Trade Unions and other social organizations and organs of authority are also restoring their positions.

The Soviet people receive with great satisfaction the signs of an increase in activity and cohesion of our party, especially in the latest period. They are convinced that we are strong enough to master the situation. However, the anxiety and worry over what has been going on in our country for some time now is still considerable. We discussed economic matters of importance for Poland. Decisions, which you comrades are aware of, were adopted. Payments amounting to more than \$1.5 billion were put off to the period after 1985. Additional supplies of raw materials were granted: 7.3 million tons of cotton, artificial fibers and for the first time in a number of years a certain amount of grain crops. This constitutes more assistance for Poland.

I would like to remind you here, Stanislaw Kania continued, of the great role played by deliveries of Soviet articles and raw materials which we would be unable to buy elsewhere--such as crude oil, cotton, gas, ores and other materials or equipment necessary for the development of our country. Our attitude to matters of exploiting our economic potential is very favorable.

Thus, comrades, we had every right to say words of gratitude--not only on behalf of the party but also of the nation--for the assistance given so far and the good will being shown to us at a moment which is difficult for our country, for the solidarity with our party and our socialist state. Socialism in our country is a fact. It is our duty to strengthen its material foundations, to consolidate socialist principles and socialist awareness.

We also have to defend socialism in the same way as independence, and defend socialist power against any threats. The line of our program was mapped out at the ninth extraordinary congress. Our path, defined by the term "socialist renewal," leads to the strengthening of the party and its Marxist-Leninist profile. This is a road of economic stabilization and of restoring our confidence as an ally. Our path is difficult but it is a straight path. It is the path of a party which is the leading force of the working class and nation. It bears historical responsibility for the fate of the fatherland.

PAP on Kania Remarks

LD041344 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Excerpts] The 2-day session of the Third Central Committee Plenum dealing chiefly with matters pertaining to workers' self-government ended yesterday.

At the winding up of the deliberations the platform was taken by Stanislaw Kania, who stated, among other things, that recently an intensification of aggressive propaganda became visible against the party, people's power, socialism, our relations based on alliances and against the USSR. An attempt was undertaken to paralyze the mass media. The threat of paralyzing television and radio cannot succeed. The authorities will use those means necessary to stop this from happening.

Our enemies say that the authorities will certainly not introduce a state of emergency in Poland. I would like to state with full emphasis and calm that in order to defend socialism the authorities will resort to all means necessary. We do not want this and do not threaten use of this weapon. Our declaration aimed at agreement signifies an offer of alliance with all those who are not against socialism. This also signifies that a barrier shall be erected against all those striving for confrontation, who wish to strike against socialism, who are striving to topple it and who for all intents and purposes are leading things to national catastrophe.

WARSAW REPORTS START OF SOVIET EXERCISES IN BALTIC

LD040834 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] The Moscow daily IZVESTIYA reports that exercises of the Soviet land forces and navy in Belorussia, the Baltic republics and the Baltic will begin today and last until 12 September. The Soviet troop exercises, the paper stresses, will be held a long way from the borders of the NATO countries, and the planned operations will not be directed westwards, but inland on Soviet territory.

YEPISHEV CONCLUDES VISIT WITH OFFICIALS, SERVICEMEN

LD031646 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep (PAP)--The visit to Poland by Lt Gen Aleksey Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, which lasted several days, has ended.

During his visit, A. Yepishev was received by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense. He visited the servicemen of the senior unit of the Polish Army, the 1st Praga mechanized regiment named after Capt Wladyslaw Wysocki, which is part of the 1st Warsaw mechanized division named after T. Kosciuszko and the servicemen of one of the units of the anti-aircraft defense forces, and the students of the Deblin Higher Air Force Officers' College named after J. Krasicki.

Lt Gen A. Yepishev's visit promoted a deepening of brotherhood in arms between the Polish Army and the Soviet Army, and also the enrichment of this brotherhood with new content, in peaceful service for the sake of joint, allied security.

PRESS CONFERENCE HELD ON AGRICULTURE SITUATION

LD040316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1735 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] A press conference conducted by government press spokesman Jerzy Urban was devoted today to current problems pertaining to agriculture and the foodstuff economy. It was held at the offices of the Council of Ministers. Opening the conference, Urban said, among other things:

[Begin recording] Today's press conference is devoted to matters which I think are the most interesting from the social point of view, namely, matters of agriculture.

We are holding the conference in connection with the fact that recently the Council of Ministers has adopted many decisions that are vital for bringing order to this sphere of the economy. The main speaker is Deputy Premier Malinowski. [end recording]

In his speech, Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, presenting the current situation in the countryside and in agriculture, said, among other things:

[Begin recording] Recently the Council of Ministers has adopted a number of decisions connected with the purchase of potatoes and grain crops; credits for agriculture, including for the construction of single family houses for farmers; and to some extent new creation of a structure governing the functioning of the agricultural services, with the strengthening of instruments or conditions for increasing expert advisory services for farmers. I would also like to say that various ministries are currently working on the coordination of a dozen or so documents of draft decisions in the form of statutes and decisions of the government covered by the concept of agricultural law. Among other things, this is what has been achieved as a result of work done by the legislative council attached to the minister of justice. This also includes a number of decisions both in the form of statutes and of decisions of the Council of Ministers which the council will examine this month.

As for the current situation, against the background of the government decisions, to all intents and purpose we already have the harvest behind us. A little more than 1 percent remains--these are tiny bits, particularly in coastal and foothill areas where the vegetation is always late. I wish to stress that this year, both in the spring and summer campaigns, particularly conscientious work by farmers in preparing spots for individual crops was fairly general. Also, the proper harvesting of grain crops has been ensured thanks to exceptional care despite all the shortcomings about which we are aware. At present we face the second campaign, which require considerably greater commitment. This campaign is the harvest of root crops and autumn grasses.

We estimate that the grain crop harvest this year is more than 2 million tons greater than last year. In other words the harvest of the 4 grain crops will amount to a total of more than 20 million tons. I would like to report that by 31 August we had purchased more than 1.1 million tons of grain crops. In accordance with the plan adopted by the Council of Ministers against the background of the harvest estimate, we would like to purchase about 4.2 million tons of grain crops from this year's harvest. At the same time in order to ensure fodder and consumption needs the Council of Ministers made a decision to import in this fiscal year 5.5 million tons of grain crops--2.5 million in the second half of this year and 3 million tons of postextraction ground grain [sruta poekstraktoyjna], 120,000 tons of fish meal and the appropriate amounts of chemical additives to fodders. [end recording]

Further on in his speech Deputy Premier Malinowski said that so far 470,000 tons of rape have been purchased and that its purchase is virtually completed. Total deliveries are about 80,000 tons less than a year ago. However, the high imports of soya and oils will ensure supplies to the market of margarine and vegetable fats and there will be greater supplies of these goods to the market than last year. The vegetable harvest is good. By the end of August a total of about 460,000 tons had been bought; this is 130,000 tons more than at the same time last year. In general a good potato harvest will have particular significance in the balance of crop production. Speaking about this, Deputy Premier Malinowski said:

[Begin recording] The next two subjects I would like to discuss are potatoes and sugar-beet. At its last session the Council of Ministers adopted a decision on the purchase and supplies of potatoes in the current fiscal year out of this year's crop. We estimate that the potato crop should be somewhere in the region of 42 million tons.

I would like to remind you that last year it was 26 million tons. We have contracted out for 4.75 million tons of potatoes, in other words for food, industrial processing and seed potato purposes.

However, we wish to purchase considerably more. In other words, we wish to take full delivery of the potatoes that have been contracted for and also to purchase at least 1 million tons more than we have contracted for. In the autumn of this year we would like to purchase about 5 million to 5.5 million tons. I would like to say that since the potato crop is so large it might not only fully cover the requirements for edible, industrial and seed potatoes, but might also be exported to other countries in exchange for other foodstuffs which would enrich our home market. [end recording]

The sugarbeet harvest also promises to be good. It is estimated that the harvest will be about 15 million tons. If the campaign which starts in 2 days is carried out efficiently, this gives us the chance of producing about 1.65 million tons of sugar.

While this year's results in vegetable production are heartening, Deputy Premier Malinowski then stressed that animal production is giving rise to fears and anxiety. For instance, over a period of 8 months the total purchase of animals for slaughter in meat terms amounted to barely 1,066,000 tons. It was as much as 360,000 tons; that is 25 percent lower than in the same period last year. The greatest breakdown has been in the purchase of pigs. Less cattle and more poultry was bought than a year ago. Not only are fewer contractual agreements being concluded but the agreements that have been concluded are not being fully implemented. Deputy premier malinowski revealed that at present, at the end of the summer, we have the lowest purchase of cattle slaughter; although in the last few days--because an earlier government decision had suspended the free market turnover of meat--a slight increase is beginning to be observed in supplies of animals for slaughter to purchase points. Although current imports of meat are relatively high--somewhere around 24,000-25,000 tons monthly--there is still not enough meat to fully meet coupon needs because of the big drop in the purchase of animals for slaughter over the last few months.

Deputy Premier Malinowski said that in order to develop animal breeding and increase meat purchases, agriculture must be guaranteed--apart from fodders and profitable (?prices)--greater deliveries of means of production, including coal, and the government has made such decisions. Already 700,000 additional tons of coal have been allocated to farmers, and ways are being sought of delivering a further 600,000 tons, because such an additional amount, which is closely linked with contractual agreements, can be of decisive importance in overcoming the impasse in animal breeding.

Deputy Premier Malinowski stressed that the government is working on further decisions to improve both the social and everyday conditions of the rural population and the aim of which is also to create more favorable working conditions, by increasing the deliveries of means of production, among other things.

[Begin recording] We are working intensively on a program for developing agriculture and the foodstuff economy up to 1985. We have already held preliminary discussions on this draft at a session of the foodstuff economy council. Further work on the draft is in progress. In particular, the finishing touches are being put to things like matters connected with chemical resources for agriculture, technology for agriculture and the land improvement program. A couple of specialists have also begun their own original research. We would like to complete this program, after discussions, in October and to submit it to a Sejm session before the 5-year plan in order to create conditions to enable the national economy to adapt better to the needs of agriculture and of the foodstuff economy--being aware that in the sphere of agriculture and of the foodstuff economy we have, relative to other sectors of the national economy, the chance of making rapid and visible progress and thereby of advancing other spheres and of creating a key for finding a way out of the socioeconomic crisis. [end recording]

After the speech by Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, reporters' questions were answered by Jerzy Wojtecki, minister of agriculture and food economy; Eugeniusz Szatkowski, deputy minister of metallurgy and engineering industry; Zdzislaw Krasinski, minister and chairman of the State Price Commission; Jan Zaleski, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture and Foodstuff Economy; Jozef Koziol, chairman of the Board of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations; and Antoni Karas, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Meat Reexport to USSR Denied

LD040143 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Excerpts] As we have reported, a press conference devoted to the current problems of agriculture and the food sector was held in Warsaw yesterday.

It was stressed during the press conference that various [words indistinct] commentaries make the stabilization of the social situation more difficult. Among others, [words indistinct] a report carried by the Dutch daily DE TELEGRAAF alleging that the meat bought by Poland in the EEC countries eventually goes to the Soviet Union. Antoni Karas, deputy minister of foreign trade, affirmed that no Polish meat products are directly exported to the Soviet Union or any other socialist country and that we do not reexport products bought in the EEC countries.

TRYBUNA LUDU INTERVIEWS MICHALEK ON FARMING

AU031716 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 81 p 3

[J. Wisniewski interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek: "It Is Time for Effective Initiatives"---date and place not given; passages in upper case published in boldface]

[Text] THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS STATED THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND THE ENTIRE FOOD PRODUCTION IS--ASIDE FROM THE EXTRACTION OF COAL AND OTHER NATURAL RICHES--THE BASIC TASK FOR THE ENTIRE NATIONAL ECONOMY. THE CONGRESS ALSO THOROUGHLY ANALYZED THE REASONS WHY THIS DEVELOPMENT HAS NOT BEEN WHAT IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN. THIS ANALYSIS HAS PRODUCED SPECIFIC TASKS FOR PARTY MEMBERS ACTIVE IN RURAL AREAS. CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY Z. MICHALEK, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PARTY WORK IN RURAL AREAS, DISCUSSED WITH US SOME ISSUES IN THAT CONNECTION.

[Question] The ninth congress documents give the impression that whereas we have a precise and clear program for the material activities to overcome the crisis, the program for political and social activities is devoid of precision and clarity. Do you agree?

[Answer] Not quite. What additional features--in excess of those listed in the congress documents--should the precision and clarity in question have? The number of meetings to be held? Additional modifications of organizational structures? One more list of rural parish reviews? THAT IS NOT THE POINT, YOU KNOW. YOU CANNOT DRAW UP A PROGRAM FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN SUCH A WAY. ACTUALLY, YOU CAN, BUT WHAT WILL BE THE RESULTS? WE HAVE THE NECESSARY EXPERIENCE IN THIS REGARD.

AN IDEOLOGICAL-PROGRAMMATIC PLATFORM WHICH IS CONSTRUCTED WITH PRECISION AND CLARITY IS OF BASIC IMPORTANCE FOR PRACTICAL PARTY ACTIVITIES, AND WE HAVE SUCH A PLATFORM. AS YOU KNOW, AT THE CONGRESS WE STATED QUITE CLEARLY THAT THE ENTIRE NATIONAL ECONOMY SHOULD SERVE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. WE REAFFIRMED THE FUNDAMENTAL THESIS ABOUT EQUALITY OF ALL AGRICULTURAL SECTORS--A THESIS INCLUDED IN THE DIRECTIVES DRAWN UP BY THE PZPR POLITBURO AND THE ZSL PRESIDIUUM. Regarding individual farms as a permanent element of the socialist economy, we declared ourselves in favor of the inviolability of peasant farms and of the legal guarantees concerning their inheritance. We also agreed that the state must continue to assist the consolidation of state farms and the development of cooperative farms. We took the stand that the regenerating agricultural self-government must be an equal partner in efforts to settle all rural problems.

THIS PLATFORM IS CONSISTENT WITH THE FEELINGS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE RURAL POPULATION AND CREATES FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR INDEPENDENT ACTIVITIES BY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUAL PARTY MEMBERS ACTIVE IN RURAL AREAS AND IN THE INDUSTRIES CONNECTED WITH THESE AREAS.

[Question] However--despite everything--are you not afraid that some party levels and organizations will turn to the "top," in line with the old habits, and wait for directives and detailed instruction, while life runs its normal course?

[Answer] The "top", meaning elected higher party levels, can and should relay incentives for further action to the "bottom." This is necessary, even a must. The point is that this should help strengthen the party organizations' independence and encourage initiative--not the contrary.

IN MY VIEW THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION WILL FAVOR STRENGTHENING THAT INITIATIVE AND INCREASING THE ROLE OF THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS. WE ARE EXTENSIVELY DISCUSSING THE ECONOMIC REFORM, FOR EXAMPLE, BUT THE PEOPLE ARE STILL NOT QUITE AWARE THAT AGRICULTURE IS THE AREA IN WHICH THE BASIC TENETS OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM ARE ALREADY BEING IMPLEMENTED. A new economic-fiscal system has been in force in state farms since 1 July. This system provides the guarantee of complete independence in farming and makes workers wages dependent on the production results of these farms, which means that conditions have been created for developing workers' initiative and for improving farm management and production effectiveness. It can be said that the independence of enterprises compels party organizations and individual party members to show independent initiative.

[Question] All right, but the system you mention is operating only in the socialized sector of agriculture as yet....

[Answer] This is true, but the impact of that system on the individual sector is already visible. Take the Agricultural Circles' cooperatives. They will switch over to self-financing, which means that they will farm so as to produce profit, because they will no longer be able to expect subsidies. Price decisions will also be made on the principle of self-government....

[Question] Also by the party members active in self-government groups....

[Answer] Yes, but their interest in this issue must not be limited to merely ensuring that the books are balanced, because this is the chief bookkeeper's task. Party members in self-government groups do not represent the chief bookkeeper, but farmers, especially those with the greatest needs. After all, there may be attempts to keep poor farmers away from machines. We party members should decisively oppose such attempts.

[Question] The party members' role of this kind is not restricted to Agricultural Circles' self-government groups only....

[Answer] Certainly not. WE MUST BE PRESENT WHEREVER SOCIAL ACTIVITIES DEVELOP, BUT OUR PRESENCE DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE WANT TO INTERFERE OR COMMANDEER. OUR PRESENCE MEANS THAT WE WANT TO DO THINGS AND INSPIRE OTHERS BY OUR ACTIVITY! Take territorial self-government. Without denying the need for modifying the People's Councils law, I think that the People's Councils do not take full advantage of the powers they already have. For many years I was a rural parish councillor in my capacity as a state farm manager. I know from practical experience how much good the agricultural commission [of a People's Council] can do in defending the farmers' interests, in improving the cultivation of land and so on, if it really wants to do something....

[Question] But the commission's voice does not always count....

[Answer] This is true, but, let us be frank. Not all People's Councils and their commissions give up their voice nowadays.

My People's Council, which was operating under more difficult conditions than prevail today, did not surrender its voice.

[Question] You mentioned that you had been a state farm manager for many years. As such, how do you evaluate the possibilities for tighter cooperation among agriculture's individual sectors?

[Answer] I will answer with a joke I was told in the United States, which I visited at the invitation of a university: In the United States they invite practicing farmers to give 2 lectures. That is why they invited me.

[Question] But what about the joke you mentioned...?

[Answer] Here it is: A hen and a hog signed a cooperation contract in order to produce eggs and bacon. The hen laid eggs and the hog pretended to be bacon. While the hen kept in good condition, the hog was rapidly wasting away, and then it complained to the hen, the hog was told: One side always loses out on cooperation....

[Question] But we do not want any side to lose....

[Answer] That is it. Speaking of cooperation among sectors, we often have been prone to regard it as a philanthropic service rendered by one sector to another. But this is nonsense under the present conditions in which, thanks to increased prices and the principle of periodic price adjustment, production profitability is ensured for all sectors.

[Question] But the state farms possess more machines than individual farmers. Why should they not supply services by machines since they have more of them?

[Answer] I want to say that I take a very low view of a state farm manager who has more machines than he needs. State farms should possess just the machines they really need. That was my principle when I was state farm manager. After all, excessive quantities of machines create excessive accumulation, and who needs that?

I do not want to say that state farms, especially well run ones, should not have certain leeways in mechanical capacity, but they should use them for the benefit of the neighboring individual farmers--for money, not for nothing--after they have completed their fieldwork. The new fiscal system makes it compulsory for state farms to do just that.

[Question] This does not mean a return to the rightly criticized exclusiveness of state farms?

[Answer] I was and am against exclusiveness. AGRICULTURE IS REALLY ONE AND ITS TASK TO BETTER FEED THE NATION IS ALSO ONE. THE POINT IS THAT ALL COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BE IMPLEMENTED UNDER CONDITIONS OF TOTAL PARTNERSHIP AND TOTAL CONSIDERATION OF MUTUAL INTERESTS, AND NOT UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THAT AMERICAN JOKE I TOLD YOU ABOUT.

It is certain that state farms should be more aware of and open to the needs of other sectors. How should this be done? To say the least, by more extensively and intensively propagating the methods of modern, effective farming. After all, the state farm cadres are mostly efficient and educated cadres. Let them go to the rural areas with their knowledge and organize training, lectures and exhibitions....

[Question] They should also go to the People's councils, all kinds of commissions and self-governing institutions....

[Answer] By all means.

REFERENDUM ON DIRECTORS AT PLANTS NOT LEGAL

LD031855 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] A decision is in progress in all enterprises which are part of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry on the economic reform and worker self-government, its shape and powers. Discussions and preparatory work will be of assistance in formulating the final version of the laws which will shortly be presented in the Sejm. Against this background any action which does not correspond to the legal regulations binding so far or to the draft laws which are still being discussed cannot be considered conducive to a broad exchange of views and maintenance of discipline, order and a sense of responsibility for what is happening in enterprises. One such action, for instance, is the holding of so-called referendums by some trade union organizations on the directors of their enterprises. Such is the intention at, among others, the Katowice steel plant.

In this situation the leadership of the ministry considers it its duty to declare that actions of this sort are without legal basis. They only aggravate the already very difficult situation in industrial enterprises. It is also stressed that nowhere in the world is popularity among the workforce the sole condition for carrying out managerial duties. A director is not just a representative of the workforce; this task is performed by the self-government, trade unions and social and political organizations. He is first and foremost a spokesman for the interests of the entire community which entrusts to him the management of an enterprise by way of nomination by the state. The task of a director is to blend the interests of the workforce and the community, of the enterprise and of the economy as a whole into a common interest. That is why he cannot be subject to a referendum organized by only one side. He must be chosen in a manner that harmonizes all interests.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES TEACHERS' REPRESENTATIVES

AU031250 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Aug 81 p 2

[Report on speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at meeting with 52 teachers representing all types of schools from all over Poland in Warsaw on 29 August]

[Text] Speaking during the meeting, Premier W. Jaruzelski stressed that the meeting's discussion was very rich and valuable and that it was joined by the people from the front-line of teachers' service. Their views help us to better understand the teachers' problems. The government will take those views into account when laying down educational policy and improving the school system.

The performance and position of the school is a matter for all our people. The standards and direction of education determine progress in all spheres of life. Our society sees teachers as friendly people worthy of respect. The ninth party congress emphasized the high status of the teaching profession. We will consistently implement the congress decisions on developing and strengthening the position and socialist character of the school.

The school has an enormous role to play in fostering an honest attitude to work. It should also defend the values of socialism and, in line with the whole truth, the people's achievements through socialism. Not everything was bad in the past. The country has developed and millions and millions of people have been educated. A one-sided criticism of the past produces cynicism and a slighting attitude toward the generations that devoted their all to the country. We must do everything to ensure that the overriding consideration--service for socialist Poland--is preserved as the guiding motive and the main target of our school's educational activities.

The school should help young people to acquire a knowledge of the state and responsibility for the state, especially for their own deeds. The school must foster young people's patriotic attitudes, which are expressed in peacetime mainly through effective work.

Solicitude for respect for others, especially for the allied states and nations, is also important.

We will continue to increase the numbers of people with prudence and good will who know that it is high time to lower the high social heat that is ravaging the country. We must overcome the mood of frustration and waiting for something to turn up. We must have an atmosphere of action. The present time should make the school especially sensitive to the need to ensure social peace. It is necessary to properly direct young people's natural spontaneity and energy along the lines of positive work. It is necessary to foster a sense of duty and discipline among young people.

We are doing our best to improve the supply of schoolbooks, notebooks and teaching aids. The government has appointed a commissioner for paper supplies. We expect that he, closely cooperating with writers, journalists, educational scientific and cultural institutions as well as with social organizations, will encourage the initiatives to produce additional supplies of paper for the production of schoolbooks and fine literature.

The government appreciates the complicated nature of teachers' conditions, especially the burdens of daily life borne by women teachers. The decision to increase the salaries, made in an extremely difficult economic situation, was primarily of social effect: to stress the special role and tasks of teachers. It was with attention, the premier said, that I heard the proposal that housing should be provided for the rural intelligentsia. This proposal will be examined, and we will support activities and initiatives to protect teachers against the hardships of the crisis and to improve the supplies for them, especially during the winter.

As a soldier, the premier stressed, I cannot ignore the traditionally good cooperation between teachers and the Armed Forces. That the military cadres have been able to achieve their intellectual and social advancement in the postwar years, is also a merit of teachers. I thank teachers for their sympathetic attitude toward defense and the Armed Forces.

In conclusion Premier W. Jaruzelski extended to all teachers his wishes for success in educational work in the new school year.

TRYBUNA LUDU WARNS AGAINST ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA

LDO31030 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Under the title "Cynical Wrecking," TRYBUNA LUDU publishes an article on the publication BIULETYN DOLNOSLASKI [LOWER SILESIAN BULLETIN]. The author writes: This illegal publication has an openly and unambiguously antisocialist or, to be more precise, violently anticommunist orientation. The July-August edition was completely devoted to material by the Russian emigre organization NTS [National Labor Union], headquartered in Rotterdam. It contains two appeals by this organization: One calls on "brother Poles" to struggle against socialism--even "with weapons in your hands"; the second, in Russian, is an anti-Soviet and instigatory call to soldiers of the Soviet units deployed in Poland.

The author of the article goes on to write: One cannot adopt a disdainful attitude toward the material in question. It touches on matters which are of too much importance for Poland, and it is also of immediate interest to the Soviet Union. The distribution to illegal publications of the crude demagoguery of the NTS, which is an exceptionally provocative and subversive form of anti-Soviet propaganda, is a conscious action to damage Polish-Soviet relations. This is one of the factors which deepen the concern of our socialist allies over the development of the situation in Poland. [passage indistinct]

SCINTEIA MARKS NONALIGNED MOVEMENT ANNIVERSARY

AU011325 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1215 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Sep (AGERPRES)--The Nonaligned Movement is an important factor in the struggle for the democratization of international life, the independence and progress - "SCINTEIA" of September 1 writes in a commentary marking the first anniversary of the "Nonalignment Day" and two decades since the summit conference of the nonaligned countries (Belgrade, 1961). The author of the commentary points out that the Nonaligned Movement has always asserted itself as one of the great progressive forces of contemporaneity, as a major component of the big anti-imperialist front, as an active force supporting the peoples' struggle for safeguarding their national independence, for security, peace and disarmament, for the definitive elimination of the policy of force and the exclusively peaceful settlement of all differences, for the democratization of international relations, for productive and multilateral collaboration among all the countries and peoples of the world.

Socialist Romania, who for many years has been participating in the entire activity of the Nonaligned Movement as invited guest, is highly appreciative of the role the nonaligned countries play in the settlement of the highly complex issues confronting contemporary mankind--the newspaper further writes. She considers that under the current complex international circumstances the nonaligned countries, all the peoples, the progressive forces everywhere should carry on broader activity for preventing the deterioration of the world political climate, for resuming and consolidating the policy of detente, collaboration and observance of national independence, for solving interstate conflicts and litigations by peaceful means, by political negotiations alone. The supreme interests of the peoples--"SCINTEIA" emphasizes--call for the firm promotion, in international relations, of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, renunciation of the use or threat of force, observance of each people's right to decide its own fate, the strict observance and generalization of these principles in international life--as the Nonaligned Movement declares--being a prerequisite for the ensurance of peace and collaboration throughout the world.

Romania gives special attention to the development of her relations of friendship and solidarity with the developing countries, with the nonaligned countries, "SCINTEIA" writes. As a socialist as well as a developing country, Romania is closely linked to these countries by joint aspirations for progress and prosperity, the concern for bridging economic gaps, by the firm adherence to the cause of the people's freedom and independence, by the determination to work for eliminating from internal life the old imperialist policy of force, domination and diktat, for building a new international economic and political order. Starting from this convergence of aspirations, Romania firmly works for consolidating her solidarity and collaboration with the nonaligned countries, developing political, economic relations and cooperation with these countries on an international plane.

The newspaper highlights that the meetings President Nicolae Ceausescu had with heads of state and government, with representatives of the political life of the nonaligned countries either during the numerous visits he paid abroad or in Romania, provided a lasting groundwork to bilateral collaboration. The joint documents signed on those occasions highlighted the broad unity of views on international developments, the identity of the goals regarding the building of a better and more just world, and made valuable contributions to sanctioning and generalizing the principles of new-type interstate relations, to finding solutions to the major questions confronting today's mankind.

Romania and the nonaligned countries actively cooperate within the UN and other international bodies making their contribution to the efforts for achieving disarmament, for building security on the European Continent, for liquidating the last colonial vestiges and the policy of apartheid, for bridging the gaps and eradicating underdevelopment, for surpassing the world division into blocs, for resuming and strengthening the course towards detente.

Romania, "SCINTEIA" concludes, is determined to develop in the future, too, her relations of solidarity and collaboration with the nonaligned countries, to steadily expand her cooperation with these countries in the world arena, being firmly convinced that this fully serves the interests of all peoples, the cause of peace, independence and progress throughout the world.

ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEADER GRANTS INTERVIEW

AU020752 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian no 35 of 27 Aug 81 pp 8 and 9

[Interview granted by Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the Directorate of the Italian Communist Party to Bucharest LUMEA magazine on 19 August in Bucharest]

[Excerpts] During my meeting with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I noted that the Romanian leaders and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally are very worried about the dangers of the arms race. Indeed, this problem is very topical for our party, too, as well as for our parliament and country. I believe I do not exaggerate when I say that Romania's position is in full accordance with our party's policy in this respect. The Italian Communist Party [PCI] speaks out for gradual and controlled disarmament leading to a balance of power at the lowest possible level.

The relations between the PCI and RCP are good; they are relations between two communist parties interested in maintaining broad international ties, particularly with other communist parties, liberation movements, socialist and social-democratic groups and all progressive forces. Likewise, relations between our states are good and I am convinced that all democratic Italian parties advocate a positive development of Romanian-Italian relations. In this respect, I would like to mention that one of our party's merits is that it always puts the entire country's interests above everything else, knowing that the PCI is not the only party entitled to make decisions or take initiatives. In this respect, I believe that the PCI's relations, particularly with the RCP, are indeed fraternal, and the PCI's positions on detente and the struggle for peace--positions expressed in various meetings, talks and other similar occasions--are similar to those expressed by other democratic Italian parties. This certainly is conducive to expanding Romanian-Italian relations at the state level.

The PCI policy represents and would like to be a unifying policy in Italy and Europe. We thus maintain good relations with socialist parties and many social-democratic ones. Both the PCI and RCP speak out against narrow ideas, sectarianism and the policy of isolation. This is very important, since it unites us within our dialogue for useful exchanges of experience and information.

As far as the relations between our countries are concerned, we obviously have similar goals, since Italy also wants to promote a policy of respect for our alliances as well as a policy of autonomy and initiative. I do not mean to say that we follow Romania's model, but your country's policy certainly encourages our policy. One can state that here is Romania, a country which maintains relations with all democratic political parties in Italy, a country admired for its independence, a country open to all kinds of cooperation and all possibilities of dialogue.

I believe that, aside from the socioeconomic progress attained by your country in recent years, one must stress Romania's importance as a force of peace. As is well known, Romania is not a great power but, through its policy, it demonstrates that negotiations are possible and that initiatives are not the exclusive reserve of others. Likewise, it demonstrates that belonging to an alliance in no way precludes the right to independence.

CEAUSESCU GREETES AL-QADHDHAFI ON ANNIVERSARY

AU031130 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Sep 81 p 3

[Text] To his Excellency Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great revolution of 1 September, Tripoli:

The seventh anniversary of your revolution day affords me a pleasant opportunity to convey to you most sincere congratulations and wishes for personal health and happiness, and for new successes along the path of progress and well-being to the friendly Libyan people.

I want to once again express my conviction that, in accordance with our agreements, the friendship and fruitful cooperation between our countries will continuously develop, in the interests of the Romanian and Libyan peoples, and of the cause of peace, national independence and security in the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

PALESTINIANS, AL-QADHDHAFI, MACHEL SEND GREETINGS

DPFLP's Hawatimah

AU021200 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 81 p 5

[Report on cable sent by Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DPFLP] to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On behalf of the DPFLP Central Committee, I have the pleasure of extending warm congratulations to you, the RCP and all the friendly Romanian people on the 37th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation in Romania.

Along with other peoples represented by communist, democratic and progressive forces, the friendly Romanian people have made great sacrifices in defeating Hitlerite fascism and saving humanity from its crimes and barbarian deeds.

At this time, when Romania is celebrating the anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation, our people in turn are engaged in the struggle for national liberation, the message states in conclusion. It also expresses full confidence in the solidarity shown by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the RCP and the Romanian people with the Palestinian People's struggle for self-determination and establishment of their own independent state, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their own legitimate representative.

Long live the Romanian-Palestinian friendship!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

[Signed] Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the DPFLP Central Committee

PFLP's Habash

AU021127 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 81 p 5

[Report on cable sent by George Habash, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On behalf of the PFLP Central Committee and myself, I have the pleasure of extending to you, all Romanian communists and all the friendly Romanian people warmest comradely greetings and best wishes on the 37th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation in Romania.

The message states that in the current stage, the Arab zone and the Palestinian revolution are facing various actions of the imperialist policy of aggression; the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, their fighting vanguard and the entire Arab nation are determined to fight this imperialist offensive firmly.

We are fully convinced of the justice of our cause and struggle waged with the support and solidarity of the revolutionary forces throughout the world, and we are convinced that all these maneuvers and their perpetrators are doomed.

Long live the Palestinian-Romanian friendship!

Long live the proletarian internationalism!

[Signed] George Habash, general secretary of the PFLP Central Committee

Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi

AU011612 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] To his Excellency Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On your country's national day I have the pleasure of extending to you heartfelt congratulations and wishes for the Romanian people's happiness, progress and prosperity on behalf of the Arab people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

[Signed] Coi Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great revolution of 1 September of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Iraqi President Husayn

AU011614 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 27 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] To his Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we have the pleasure of extending congratulations and best wishes to your excellency on Iraq's behalf and ourselves personally.

We wish your Excellency much health and happiness and the friendly Romanian people progress and prosperity. We express the hope that relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will continue to develop.

[Signed] Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq

Mozambique's Machel

AU011617 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On behalf of the Mozambican people, the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique and myself personally I extend warm and fraternal greetings to the Romanian people, the RCP, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and yourself personally, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On the 37th anniversary of the Romanian people's victory over the military-fascist dictatorship, a holiday for all peoples struggling against imperialism, colonialism, fascism and all forms of oppression and exploitation, we note with satisfaction that relations of friendship and cooperation between our peoples, parties and states are increasingly consolidating.

On this historic day, I extend wishes of great prosperity to the Romanian people as well as wishes for health and long life to you personally, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

With high consideration,

[Signed] Samora Moises Machel, Frelimo Party chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique

PRC EXHIBITION OPENS, GOOD RELATIONS STRESSED

AU021115 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Aug 81 p 3

[Text] The exhibition "60 Years Since the Creation of the CCP" opened on Friday in Timisoara. The exhibition was organized by the Historical Museum of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement in Romania, the Banat Museum of Timisoara, in cooperation with the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and the PRC Embassy in Bucharest.

The opening ceremony was addressed by Augusta Anca, chairman of the Committee for Socialist Cultural and Education of Timis County and Xia Mingzhen, secretary of the PRC Embassy in Bucharest. The speakers stressed the good relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, peoples and countries and the common desire to do everything possible for their continuous flourishing.

Representatives of party-state bodies and mass and public organizations in the county, leaders of enterprises and institutions, scientific, cultural and artistic figures and working people from Timisoara participated in the opening of the exhibition.

FESTIVE MEETING MARKS VIETNAM'S NATIONAL DAY

AU021912 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Sep (AGERPRES)--On September 2, a festive meeting marking the national day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was held at the club of the "Grivita Rosie" chemical equipment manufacturing enterprise under the auspices of the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP and the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] Municipal Council.

The political and historical significance of the event was highlighted by Ilie Bologa, secretary of the party committee, chairman of the Working People's Council in that enterprise. Pointing to the main stages of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle for national and social liberation, for defending state independence and sovereignty against foreign interventions, for achieving national unity and consolidating the revolutionary gains, the speaker said that, in the spirit of international solidarity, the Romanian people supported the Vietnamese people's just fight, hailed with profound satisfaction the act that crowned its heroic fight--the liberation of South Vietnam and the country's reunification, and then the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976.

Showing that the Romanian-Vietnamese relations of friendship and collaboration on multiple planes had steadily developed, the speaker highlighted that the meetings and talks in Bucharest and Hanoi between Nicolae Ceausescu and Le Duan had a decisive role in the continuous development and amplification of those relations, gave strong impulses to intensifying the many-sided Romanian-Vietnamese collaboration.

Tan Phong, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Bucharest, also took the floor. Referring to the Romanian-Vietnamese relations which witnesses particular development following the summit talks, the ambassador expressed the Vietnamese people's gratitude to the Romanian Party, Government and people for the support they granted to the cause of national liberation and socialist construction in Vietnam.

U.S. SCIENTIST LECTURE IN BUCHAREST NOTED

AU021914 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Sep (AGERPRES)--The American scientist of Romanian extraction George E. Palade, Nobel Prize winner, professor at the Yale University, delivered a lecture "A Brief History of Cellular Biology" at the Institute of Cellular Biology and Pathology of Bucharest. The specialists who attended the lecture had a useful exchange of opinions with their guest.

SURINAME FOREIGN MINISTER NAARANDORP VISITS

AU021900 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1752 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Sep (AGERPRES)--Harvey H. Naarandorp, minister of foreign affairs and justice of the Republic of Suriname, arrived in Bucharest on September 2 for an official visit to Romania at the invitation of Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei.

At the Otopeni Airport, the guest was greeted by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, Maria Groza, deputy minister of foreign affairs, by other officials.

Talks with Andrei

AU031858 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 3 Sep 81

Text] Bucharest, 3 Sep (AGERPRES)--Official talks continued in Bucharest on Thursday between the minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Stefan Andrei, and the minister of foreign affairs and justice of the Republic of Suriname, Harvey H. Naarandorp.

During the talks the two ministers informed each other of the two countries' concerns for economic and social development, the joint wish being stressed to lay the foundations of a bilateral collaboration in the interests of both countries and peoples. Likewise, the possibilities were highlighted of a fruitful, mutually advantageous cooperation between Romania and Suriname, especially in agriculture and the capitalization of natural resources.

Current international questions were also approached, the two sides' determination being expressed to intensify cooperation on an international plane to make their contribution within the United Nations organization to establish in the world of a climate of detente and security, of confidence and cooperation, which should ensure the observance of each people's right to peace and national independence.

On Thursday morning, the minister of foreign affairs and justice of the Republic of Suriname had an interview with Doina Ardare, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

TU DELEGATION IN WARSAW FOR SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

LD031805 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep (TANJUG)--The Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia delegation which will attend the first part of the NSZZ Solidarity congress in Gdansk arrived in Warsaw today. Josip Francic, member of the Presidium of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia Central Council, and Rade Radovanovic, head of the section for international ties between trade unions, are in the delegation.

The NSZZ Solidarity congress, the first since August last year, when this trade union was formed in Poland, starts on Saturday, 5 September. The congress will be in two parts, the second part beginning at the end of September and lasting 8 days.

The Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia delegation has arrived for this congress at the invitation of NSZZ Solidarity. It is expected that the opening and the first part of the NSZZ Solidarity congress will be attended by delegations from about 26 foreign trade union organizations.

KRAIGHER GREETES LIBYAN, VIETNAMESE LEADERS

Greetings to Al-Qadhdhafi

AU021626 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 81 p 8

[Text] Belgrade--On the occasion of the anniversary of the 1 September revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a telegram on behalf of the SFRY Presidency to Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, expressing cordial greetings and wishes for the progress of the friendly Libyan people.

The telegram expresses the conviction that the traditional friendship and the close Yugoslav-Libyan cooperation will continue to develop successfully and will contribute to consistently implementing the nonaligned policy goals--peace and security in all regions of the world, the independence, equality and close cooperation of countries and general progress in the world.

Cable to SRV

AU031123 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 81 p 7

[Text] Belgrade--On the occasion of the national day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a telegram to Truong Chinh, chairman of the Council of State, with cordial congratulations in the name of the SFRY Presidency. The telegram expresses best wishes for the prosperity of the Vietnamese people as well as the conviction that the friendly relations and cooperation between the two non-aligned and socialist countries will continue to strengthen.

MOJSOV, SPAIN'S CARRILLO HOLD TALKS IN BELGRADE

LD021720 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Sep (TANJUG)--Cooperation among communist and worker parties, among all progressive and democratic forces in the struggle for social transformation and development of socialism should be based on full respect for the principles of independence, autonomy, noninterference and each party's responsibility before its own working class and people.

The above is a joint evaluation made by Lazar Mojsov, president of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, and Santiago Carrillo, secretary general of the Communist Party of Spain, who held talks here today. Carrillo arrived yesterday for a visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee.

Mojsov and Carrillo also laid stress on the need to intensify efforts by all progressive and democratic forces to stop unfavorable international trends now, to overcome deadlock in detente, to stop the arms race and to establish a new international economic order. In this connection, they particularly emphasized the role of the Nonaligned Movement.

The need to further widen cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Spain was underlined during their talk.

Carrillo in Dubrovnik

AU031544 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Dubrovnik, 3 Sep--Santiago Carrillo, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party, who has been visiting our country for several days now as a guest of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, arrived in Dubrovnik today. Carrillo will spend a few days here on a working vacation and will later leave our country.

SAWPY PRESIDENT SIROKA RECEIVES SWAPO'S NUJOMA

AU021628 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 81 p 8

[Text] Belgrade--Kolj Siroka, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, yesterday received Sam Nujoma, chairman of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia, who is currently visiting our country to participate in the roundtable conference on nonalignment in Novi Sad.

During a lengthy talk, views were exchanged, among other things, on bilateral cooperation between the SAWPY and SWAPO. Chairman Nujoma stressed the significance of Yugoslavia's support for and assistance to the struggle of Namibia's people for freedom. Current foreign political developments, particularly in Africa, were also discussed.

VRHOVEC RECEIVES ZIMBABWE, CUBAN MINISTERS

Zimbabwe's Kangai

LD030335 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 31 Aug 81

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec today received Zimbabwean Minister of Labour and Social Services Kumbirai Kangai. Minister Kangai took part in the international roundtable on "The Policy and Movement of Non-alignment in the Eighties", which ended today in Novi Sad, capital of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Some topical international questions, in general, and developments in southern Africa in connection with the South African racist regime's aggression on Angola, in particular, and possibilities for further promoting cooperation between Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe, were discussed during the ensuing cordial and friendly talk.

Cuba's Alarcon

FL021430 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1400 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade--Ricardo Alarcon, alternate member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and Cuban vice minister of foreign relations, has been received by Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec. According to news reports, Alarcon and Vrhovec talked about the international situation, the upcoming 36th meeting of the UN General Assembly and the relations existing between Yugoslavia and Cuba.

Alarcon, who left Belgrade today to return to Cuba, participated in the roundtable sessions on nonaligned policy and the Nonaligned Movement in the eighties held in Novi Sad, capital of the Autonomous Yugoslav Province of Vojvodina.

TRIAL OF CROATIAN NATIONALIST VESELICA CONTINUES

LD311426 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Sep (TANJUG)--The trial of Dr Marko Veselica, 45, former university senior lecturer, was resumed last week in Zagreb, capital of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Croatia. Veselica is charged with having incited and stirred Croatian nationalism and collaborated with anti-Yugoslav, Ustasha fascists abroad. Veselica is charged with "having malevolently and untruthfully presented social-political conditions in Yugoslavia" in an interview to the Federal Republic magazine DER SPIEGEL last September and with "having used propaganda to incite and stir national hatred and discord between the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia." The indictment charges Veselica also with having maintained regular contact, from June 1980 to March 1981, with Ustasha ringleaders abroad.

Mila Sram has testified in court that she used to deliver to Veselica messages from Ustashes abroad and that she had carried across the border copies of Veselica's texts which were later published in Ustasha newspapers.

Veselica's texts were published also in the Federal Republic bulletin OST DIENST, edited by the former DER SPIEGEL correspondent in Yugoslavia, Hans Peter Ruhlam, who has been sentenced for espionage in Yugoslavia.

Veselica has again in court stated that it is his conviction that there exists in Yugoslavia "a greater-Serbian supremacy by which a systematic oppression of and violence over the Croatian people is carried out."

In the interview to the Federal Republic magazine, Veselica claimed that "the Croatian people (in Yugoslavia) is culturally subordinated, neglected and negated and Croatia exploited for the benefit of the other Yugoslav republics and provinces."

Veselica claims that 100,000 cultural monuments of the Croatian people have gone to waste in Yugoslavia. He has, however, not been able in court to give the source on which he based his claim but has only said that he had heard the figure during a conversation in 1970 but remembers nothing more.

Dr Veselica's allegations are identical with the claims ordinarily put forth by Ustasha fascists. Courts in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Australia have of late sentenced the anti-Yugoslav terrorists to stiff punishments.

The Veselica trial, which opened in the spring, had twice since been put off. Veselica first withheld confidence to the five defence counselors he had personally selected, but only so as to engage them again. He now has seven defense counsellors, two of whom are court appointed. The trial had to be postponed the second time in June because Veselica had to undergo a hemorrhoid surgery. Prior to the surgery, he had twice for ten days refused to take food and lived only on sugar, salt and water.

Dr Veselica, one of the leaders of the nationalist movement in Croatia in the early seventies, was in 1972 sentenced to seven years of prison and no public appearances for a period of four years.

Ustasha Contacts

LD032326 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Sep (TANJUG)--Testimonies given today by witnesses at the trial of Dr Marko Veselica who has been charged with hostile activities against the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, have confirmed that he maintained contacts with Ustasha terrorist organizations outside the country.

The Zagreb district court today heard the testimony of Mila Sram of Zagreb. She stated that she had met with Veselica on several occasions in the Zagreb apartment of her friend Zora Heger where she received from the (?accused) various written messages. She then illegally carried these messages abroad, thereupon posting or personally delivering them to hostile emigres. Mila Sram also said that she had carried messages from Ustasha emigres to Marko Veselica. On one occasion, she gave him a code which he was to use in contacting the Ustasha emigre Tihomir Radj who lives in Switzerland. Mila Sram revealed numerous details about Veselica's correspondence with Ustasha emigres in Switzerland, France and Great Britain as well as with representatives of international non-governmental institutions infiltrated by foreign intelligence services. She also explained how the hostile material she had been carrying was discovered at the Sentilj border crossing last March. Mila Sram's testimony was corroborated by Franc Pokriznik, a customs officer at Sentilj, who found the material in a passenger bus in which Mila Sram was travelling to Graz, Austria.

PRISTINA COURT SENTENCES 10 IRREDENTISTS

LD021549 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic **Service** in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Pristina, 2 Sep (TANJUG)--The Pristina district court, presided over by Isak Nisevci, passed sentences ranging from 4 to 15 years on members of the illegal group called "Renewed Awakening."

The hostile activity of six members of this irredentist group started in February 1980. Members of the group, led by Salih Salihu (sentenced to 15 years imprisonment), held a large number of meetings, gathered followers, acquired hostile literature and "studied" it. Before the spring counterrevolutionary demonstrations, their activity became ever more intensive especially in organizing the pupils of the central secondary school at Podujevo to boycott their lessons and, later, to take part in the demonstrations. Fehmi Berisa (sentenced to 15 years), Seljatin Salja (sentenced to 11 years), Avdi Ljatif (sentenced to 9 years) and Hamdi Mustafa (sentenced to 8 years imprisonment), together with the leader of the group, committed the offenses of associating for the purpose of overthrowing the system and constitutional order and of undermining brotherhood and unity. Ejup Salja was sentenced to 4 years for committing the criminal act of engaging in hostile propaganda.

The Pristina District court also sentenced members of the irredentist group called "The Communist Organization for the Unification of Albanian Territories." The five-member bench, chaired by Riza Ljoci, sentenced Naim Salja to 10 years imprisonment, Sabit Krasnici and Nijaz Gasi to 9 years, and Ramadan Bunjaku to 8 years. As proved at the trial and as admitted by the defendants themselves, the aim of the organization was the unification of Kosovo and other parts of our country inhabited by Albanian population with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

JOURNALS ANALYZE IRREDENTIST EVENTS IN KOSOVO

VOJNO DELO Article

LD021730 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1330 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Sep (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav periodical VOJNO DELO writes in its latest issue that the instigators of the disorders and the irredentists in Kosovo instead of self-management offered statism for the basis of the Yugoslav system. They also rejected Yugoslavia's nonaligned policy and accepted the already anachronistic isolationism of Albania and collaboration with hostile emigres who are under foreign influence. The periodical notes that the Albanian nationalists and irredentists have been developing counterrevolutionary indoctrination and propaganda systematically since 1968, permeating educational institutions and news media without encountering resolute resistance.

Methodically gaining ground in the educational system, textbooks and at cultural events and scientific meetings, the nationalists and irredentists complemented these activities by illegally printing and disseminating leaflets and other propaganda material. VOJNO DELO stresses that the dangers to society resulting from all these activities which contained elements of counterrevolutionary propaganda were underrated. There were only isolated warnings and individual reactions and opposition. Analysing the nationalists and irredentists' action platform, the periodical writes that they circulated fabrications about the Albanian exploitation of Kosovo. In their activity they went so far as to engage in vandalistic destruction of material values created by the painstaking labour of Albanians in Kosovo together with other Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

The periodical perceives the chief weakness of the League of Communists of Kosovo and its leading organs in the fact that they underestimated the danger of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Their insufficient vigilance resulted in incorrect assessments of the political situation and stability in the province. In the opinion of the periodical strong remnant of bureaucratic statism in Kosovo were manifested both in constitutional relations within the Republic of Serbia, whose part Kosovo is, and in relations with neighbouring Albania. Overstepping of constitutional principles, the periodical writes, was manifested in systematic loosening of natural ties and relations between the republic and the province, the loosening which, for example, prevented passing of laws of substantial importance as are the law on national defense and the law on the economic and social development plan of Serbia. Periodical emphasizes that the self-management course and character were lacking to the debates held on that and that they have therefore remained without results.

It has been established that the system of total people's defence and social self-protection in Kosovo responded to its obligations only partly and that it was not sufficiently developed which was seen best in the university and secondary schools where youths were prepared to resist hostile actions, the periodical notes.

The fact that relatively few, but militant and aggressive groups among university and secondary school students succeeded in rallying a considerable number of people at demonstrations this spring can be explained only in this way, VOJNO DELO emphasizes. VOJNO DELO sees one of the reasons for the weakness of the system of total people's defence and social self-protection in Kosovo in its autarchic development.

Croatia's Suvar in NIN

AU031738 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1600 30 Aug 81 pp 14-17

[Article by Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the Croatian Executive Council and secretary of the Committee for Education, Culture and Physical Training: "Kosovo Events and the Nationalist Euphoria: Something More About the Causes"]

[Excerpts] Since the outbreak of the hostile demonstrations in Kosovo, extensive information in detail has been provided about what happened and is happening in that socialist autonomous province, something in which the entire Yugoslav public is justifiably very interested. Attempts have also been made especially at the sessions of party leaderships, the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, the LCY Central Committee and their presidiums to provide a more thorough political evaluation of the nationalist euphoria in Kosovo, which was especially widespread among some sections of the youth, and to primarily call attention to its real causes.

However, I believe that the pertinent analyses and evaluations should elucidate to a greater extent also a certain historic, demographic and social-cultural background of the dramatic contemporary situation in Kosovo that very much concerns all of us in Yugoslavia.

Following the Balkan wars and World War I, the Albanian population within the borders of old Yugoslavia had absolutely no rights, and a certain colonization of Kosovo by the Serbs, the Montenegrins and members of other south Slavic people took place in that period.

In Kosovo and other places with a mixed population of Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins, it was the Serbs and the Montenegrins who played the prominent role in the workers movement in the national liberation struggle. This fact also has its subtle importance.

On the other hand, the masses of the Albanian people in Kosovo were to a great extent linked with the Ballist movement, and the postwar development could not erase all traces of that heritage with a single stroke.

To this we may also add the period until 1966--after the Brioni plenum characterized as the Rankovic period--when a certain policy of mistrust toward the Albanian population was followed, a policy expressed in gross forms of pressure and suspicion. It was on the grounds of settling accounts with that policy that the Albanian irredentist nationalism appeared more openly and expansively in the demonstrations and demands for a republic as early as 1968.

It would be useful to examine, from today's viewpoint, the official and adopted appraisals and analyses by various LCY bodies about everything that happened in Kosovo in the period from the liberation to 1966, and review the reactions and appraisals adopted in the period after 1966.

Demographic Explosion

The demographic aspects of the situation merit even greater attention. What is involved here is a demographic explosion of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia. Any reproaches to our Albanians that they are multiplying too rapidly in relation to members of other Yugoslav peoples would be akin to racism. But this problem of demographic explosion should be analyzed in an open, human and responsible Marxist manner. This is most important from the viewpoint of the so-called demographic investments. It is these demographic investments that provoke criticism among other members of the Yugoslav community, whereas at the same time the Kosovo people are dissatisfied because they are not receiving from the Yugoslav community as much as they should and are consequently lagging even further in economic and social development.

One of the most sensitive issues in Kosovo is the question of how the togetherness of the Albanians, the Serbs, the Montenegrins, the Muslims and other peoples and nationalities should be achieved in everyday life. What is needed in this connection is to promote bilingualism, a language tolerance and good knowledge of the Serbo-Croatian language among our Albanians, as well as the willingness of the Serbs, Montenegrins and members of other peoples living in those areas to also learn the Albanian language from their early years, and on that basis to prevent a separation in the process of upbringing and education as well as in public life. The wrongly conceived "Albanization" has sown many weeds that must now be pulled out.

Something of what has happened in Kosovo can also be deduced from the obsession of a part of the socially organized and aware forces with statehood and the state and legal relationships. All of us in Yugoslavia are suffering from this ailment that feeds all nationalisms and especially Albanian nationalism. It is in this light that it is necessary to adopt a critical attitude not only toward the demand to make Kosovo a republic but also toward the treatment of the relations between the provinces and the Republic of Serbia on the basis of the legal state and the constitutional legal approach. It seems to me that that is happening also in a part of the organized social forces in Serbia itself (without provinces). We must all proceed from building our community not as a collection of states but as a self-managing association of peoples, working people and citizens. It is self-management and not the state that is the basis of the development of peoples and nationalities.

The gap between the technobureaucratic and cultural elite on one hand and the masses of people on the other certainly also influenced the Kosovo events and especially the attitude of the youth. That gap should also be discussed more openly. The behavior of the Kosovo workers class showed that that class was really the only reliable socialist stronghold, because if that class had joined the demonstrations en masse, it would have been much more difficult to overcome the crisis and restore elementary social order. Therefore, the formation of as large a workers class as possible and the opening of as large a number of working places in material production activities as possible represent the most important problem of Kosovo's further development, a complete recovery of the sociopolitical situation and an improvement of the intranational relations in Kosovo.

And finally, something about the terminology used today in analyzing the Kosovo events.

Simplification of the Differentiation Concept

This terminology has been simplified to the extreme. The differentiation concepts are also simplified. We must not follow a policy which will create a large number of "marked" and in fact future opponents for life on one hand, and a large number of unjustified "national heroes" on the other.

Albania on its own represents no threat to Yugoslavia, and the exaggerated claims blaming Albania for almost everything must be avoided. What must be blamed to a greater extent are our own imprudence, our bad policy and our inability at all times to set up the social development of Kosovo, especially in the sphere of intranational relations, in the way it should have been set up.

It is not enough to utter phrases about the national minorities being the bridges among countries. And all allusions that these minorities act as agents of the states of their mother nations are more than just dangerous.

The aggressive rise of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo has really been a great lesson for all of us. And let us not forget that all of us in Yugoslavia have our "own" nationalisms which are lying in wait.